SUFFERINGS OF THE JEWS DURING THE MIDDLE AGES

To Arthur Miller,
From Mr. & Mrs. L. Soltes

Library of Jewish Classics

I. Leopold Zunz: The Sufferings of the Jews during the Middle Ages

LIBRARY OF JEWISH CLASSICS—I.

The Sufferings of the Jews during the Middle Ages

BY

LEOPOLD ZUNZ

Translated from the German

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EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THE angel of death is still brooding over the camps of the dispersed congregations of Israel. We can almost hear the flutter of his wings. The days of the Black Death and the Crusades are again upon us, and in the great MEMORBUCH of the Nation's sorrow we must now chronicle the martyrdom of the sons and daughters of Judah at Kishineff, Gomel, Odessa, Bialystok, and countless other places in the broad empire of the Tsar.

This roll-call of the myriad dead is but the echo of the wail which went up from the Synagogues in the cities of the Rhine during the Dark Ages, when poisoned wells, desecrated wafers, and child-murders served as pretexts for the frenzy of Christian mobs—for lust, rapine, and kindred cruelties that shall remain nameless.

Alas! that the vivid picture of Jewish suffering which the master-hand of LEOPOLD ZUNZ drew just fifty years ago should be a timely publication

to-day. Alas, indeed, that at the brilliant dawn of the twentieth century Zion should once more be laid waste, her children torn asunder, her homes ravaged, her habitations made desolate, and her very shame a name for tragedy!

And now, too, as in the olden days, the elders of the house of Jacob sit in sackcloth and ashes, proclaim a fast, chant the *Selihoth* of the Synagogue, and call upon the name of the Lord. "For I have heard a voice . . . the voice of the daughters of Zion, that bewaileth herself, that spreadeth her hands, saying, Woe is me now! for my soul is wearied because of murderers" (Jeremiah iv., 31).

In one Russian town, during the upheavals of 1904, we are informed by an eyewitness, there was a holocaust of Jewish souls, and the martyrs went singing to their doom.

Does not this plaintive fact recall the tragedies of the Dark Ages, when the children of Israel, led to slaughter, perished "as consecrated hosts of the Lord," chanting the *Alenu* Prayer?

"The holy congregation of Nordhausen," so runs an ancient record, "have sanctified the blessed name of the Lord . . . in the year 1349. Rabbi Jacob and his son, the learned Rabbi Meir, plead-

ed with the frantic multitude for permission to prepare for death, and to make their peace with heaven. The request was granted. Whereupon the whole community, men and women, wrapped themselves up in their *Talithoth* (surplice used in prayer) and shrouds, to dig their own graves at their burial-place, which was surrounded by large piles of wood, and covered with dry boughs. These truly pious and righteous people encountered death with the greatest fortitude; they even *begged that their musicians and singers be allowed to lead them on to death, as to a merry dance.* They wished to serve God, in the last moment of their existence, in the spirit of the royal Psalmist, who said, 'Serve the Lord with gladness, come before his presence with singing.' They then exclaimed, 'House of Jacob, O come ye and let us walk in the light of the Lord.' They clasped each other's hands, men and women, youths and maidens, singing aloud hymns in praise of the only true God. Rabbi Jacob, the venerable head of the congregation, led the procession; and his pious son, Rabbi Meir, formed the rear-guard, so that none might shrink back from embracing death, for the sake of God and His law. They marched to the cemetery and descended into the pit, around which was piled burning and crack-

ling fuel. Rabbi Meir once more came up from the pit to see whether any faltered or remained behind, and to his great joy behold 'these were all holy'; none stood back. The citizens, astounded at such fortitude, entreated him to save himself, to which he replied: 'Far be it from me to separate myself from my holy brethren. Behold! a moment and I shall be in a happier region, in the presence of my Maker, who gave us life and who now pleases to take it away.' He then returned to the pit, and in a moment the enraged mob cast over the opening the prepared boughs, to which they set fire, so that the souls of the whole community left this vale of sorrow in purity and sanctity." *

This is but a single instance of the heroism of our brothers in the flesh, in the days which tried men's souls and taxed their capacities for endurance to the uttermost limits. The penitential psalm—that unique product of the synagogue, which, happily, has no parallel in any other literature (see Stein-

* It is this noble and heart-thrilling episode which inspired the fervent pen of Emma Lazarus to write "The Dance to Death, a historical tragedy in five acts" (New York, 1882). See also for a graphic recital of the martyrdom of the Jews at Nordhausen, E. Carmoly's sketch "Der Tanz zum Tod," in his *Oholiba*, Roedelheim, 1863, pp. 136–183.

schneider, *Die Geschichtsliteratur der Juden*, I., Frankf. a. M., 1905, p. 27)—speaks to us in accents rich and rare of the native sorrow of Israel. For that sorrow is inborn; it has come to stay; and even where brighter days have dawned for the dispersed of Judah—as in England and America—it is never wholly forgotten. It was only yesterday that we swayed in prayer and intoned the *Kinoth* and *Selihoth*, which have become an integral part of our liturgy forever, and alas! to-morrow shall find us again at our ancient task, chanting the threnodies of sorrow. For "sufferance is the badge of all our tribe."

It was reserved for the master Zunz to write the biography of the dirge and the penitential psalm. Indeed, his classical works on the liturgy, notably his *Synagogale Poesie des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1855), are more than history or literature; they are intimate pen-pictures, throbbing with life! A phrase, a word, an exclamation here and there reveals the hidden secrets in the heart of the writer, who lived eight or more centuries ago. And only Zunz, seer, scholar, and poet that he was, could have breathed into those outpourings of old the vivifying breath of life, making them sad and tender and musical in the language of his own matchless verse, whose

sublime cadences often transcend the Hebrew or Aramaic originals.

Can anything be more contrite or soulful than the following stanza from a *Selihah* of the year 1100, inimitably rendered by Zunz?

> Nimm, Heiliger, was wir erflehen,
> Liebreich auf in Himmelshöhen;
> Lasse nach so vielen Leiden
> Uns endlich schauen Freuden.
> Doch träf' uns auch das Schlechte—
> Du bleibst der Gerechte.

With each outcry of anguish there came the soothing refrain of God-reliance and hope. And this is the lesson of our martyrdom.

It is to David Kaufmann, next to Steinschneider the most industrious and versatile scholar of the last decade of the nineteenth century, that we are indebted for the finest appreciation of the life and labors of Leopold Zunz. A genius of high order himself, a master of language without a peer in his generation, he assayed, as no other man could, the gold in the treasure-house of Zunz's mind. This meagre foreword would scarcely be justified without a paragraph or two from the tribute of a great disciple to his master:

"Every species and subdivision of this poetry, its organism and metre, its characteristics and rendition, its beauty and peculiarities, its origin and motives, in short, everything which the profound thinker deemed worthy of being inquired into, was fully treated in this wonderful literary performance. As the tearful Muse of the Middle Ages found numerous opportunities of pouring forth its grief in songs of lamentation, Zunz wrote the ever-memorable chapter 'Leiden,' in which he described the almost perennial persecutions of our mediæval history, and the outrages to which the Jews were subjected during that period. Carried away by the powerful exposition of the subject, by the brevity yet completeness of this tale of woe, the reader is apt to forget that he is here confronted by a marvel of erudition, the value of which is no way lessened because it is presented to us in an unpretentious garb. Indignation for the sins of the oppressors, sorrow for the sufferings of the oppressed, hate and love, contempt and admiration, alternate throughout the recital, and lend to it an inimitable charm. The songs of woe did not resound in vain, the cries of agony were not raised fruitlessly, for after the lapse of centuries the man appeared whose heart was large enough to take up this storm-flood of

sentiment, whose mind was sufficiently broad to allow of his regarding the subject from a philosophical and literary point of view, while his soul was filled with compassion and stricken with sadness. With the same affection as that which he bestowed on the subject in general, did he surround every detail. He was not alone the historian, but likewise the anatomist, the physiologist, and the chemist of the *Piyut.*"*

Zunz's essay is but an outline sketch of Jewish martyrdom in the Middle Ages; yet no one has ever handled the subject so comprehensively, with such dignity and self-restraint. His great heart held alike compassion for the persecuting Christian and infinite tenderness for the persecuted Jew. The sins of one and the sorrows of the other were like the dual text of a time-worn palimpsest,

*The above is an extract from Prof. Kaufmann's luminous sketch of the literary labors of Zunz. The essay was published in the *Oesterreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient*, 1884, p. 212. An English translation appeared in the *Jewish Chronicle* (London), August, 1884; reprinted in the *American Hebrew* (New York), 1884. The same author has contributed an appreciation of Zunz in the Hungarian periodical *Magyar Zsido Szemle* (Budapest), 1884, vol. i., pp. 385–393, and to the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. xlv., pp. 490–501. His interesting correspondence with Zunz has recently been published by Dr. M. Brann, of Breslau.

yielding up its secret only to him who could interpret it aright.

We needed not to be told by his biographer that Zunz wept frequently and long while writing this classical chapter in Jewish martyrology, for which he could find no apter title than the plaintive but expressive word "Leiden." It is suffused throughout with tears; and the cry of anguish, resounding from *Piyut* and *Selihah*, comes also from the soul of Zunz.

These poetic pieces, so masterfully rendered by Zunz, could scarcely be adequately given in English. Dr. Löwy's admirable translation has preserved all the charm and forcefulness of the original, and it was thought wise, for obvious reasons, to omit, in this edition also, the notes and references to be found in the German version. One or two explanatory remarks by the translator, who has likewise furnished a valuable critical study of the writings of Dr. Zunz* in the introduction to his rendering, have been retained by the editor, who has carefully compared Dr. Löwy's version

* *Miscellany of Hebrew Literature*, vol. i., London, 1872, pp. 151–166. The essay entitled *Leiden* is translated from section 2 of Zunz's *Die Synagogale Poesie des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1855), pp. 9–58. The English version is to be found in the *Miscellany*, pp. 167–218.

with the original, making some necessary revisions and adding a few supplementary notes which, he hopes, may prove acceptable to students.

The reader would do well to peruse, in connection with this essay, another section of Zunz's *Synagogale Poesie*, entitled "Zwei neuere Jahrhunderte" (pp. 334–363), which takes up the story of the persecution of the Jews from the middle of the sixteenth century, and concludes with a glad welcome to the age "whose roseate dawn was heralded by the birth of Kant, Franklin, and Washington" (p. 356). Here, too, one cannot fail to be impressed with the author's stupendous knowledge, his fine philosophical grasp, his consummate skill in the grouping and co-ordination of world-movements and events, and, above all, his crisp, clear-cut, and expressive diction, which everywhere proclaims the literary artist.

Surely there is some little comfort in the reflection that it is the reverent hand of Leopold Zunz that wrote the wonderful chronicle of the sufferings of Israel. No similar record voices so eloquently our mission of martyrdom, which Isaiah's famous prophecy foreshadowed in the days of the Captivity. Zunz's heart, like that of the ancient seer, was full of the *Weltschmerz* of his people, but he,

too, following the lead of his great prototype, was "a thunderer for righteousness." It was he who wielded the sword of the spirit, in the early decades of the last century, and vindicated for Israel a place of honor in the academy of nations. May this, too, remain unforgotten in these latter days, when we open anew the ancient *Memorbuch* of the nation's sorrow, to record the names of the myriad heroes who but yesterday sacrificed their lives for God and the *Thora*. They will not have died in vain, if their steadfastness and sufferings will be lovingly cherished and inscribed on the hallowed pages of Israel's history by the hand of a chronicler as noble, valiant, and soulful as Leopold Zunz.

"... In God's time,
Our witnesses arise. Ours is the truth,
Ours is the power, the gift of Heaven. We hold
His Law, His Lamp, His Covenant, His Pledge,
Wherever in the ages shall arise
Jew-priest, Jew-poet, Jew-singer, or Jew-saint—
And everywhere I see them star the gloom—
In each of these the martyrs are avenged."*

GEORGE ALEXANDER KOHUT.

NEW YORK, January 1, 1907.

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* Emma Lazarus, "The Dance to Death," in *Songs of a Semite*, New York, 1882, p. 46.

THE SUFFERINGS OF THE JEWS DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

If there be an ascending scale of suffering, Israel has reached its highest degree. If the duration of afflictions, and the patience with which they are borne ennoble, the Jews may vie with the aristocracy of any land. If a literature which owns a few classical tragedies is deemed rich, what place should be assigned to a tragedy which extends over fifteen centuries in which the poets and actors were also the heroes?[1]

The dispersion of the Jews, sufficiently disastrous in itself, but especially so when considered in connection with their desire for reunion, might have filled a sympathetic heart with charity and respect; and the Jews were the more entitled to proper treatment, since among themselves the stranger had always been protected. Lowly and powerless, they should have received protection; it was preferred, however, to exact from them heavy taxes and imposts, even to amerce their poor. "He who works his way through brambles," says the Midrash, "in detaching himself on one side, entangles his gar-

ment on the other; and such is the case in the land of Esau. Barely has the land-tax been paid, when the poll-tax is demanded; and while this is being collected, the exactor of new tributes makes his appearance. 'Edom is never satisfied; whatever flows thitherward never returns to its owner.' 'The princes of Edom are covetous of money, and therefore they flay Israel alive.'" Hence the Jews are designated by Joseph ben Isaac as "a people plundered by exactions." The history of mediæval Europe illustrates these sayings. "*Hab, hab*" (give, give!), the forerunner of the "Hep, hep," a cry by which the Suabians used to mock the Jews, is the threatening call of the Roman Empire.

"Give, give," the impious cry:
"Gold supply!"
Is their battle cry.

ISAAC HALEVI.[2]

They cry "Give, give!"
Neither is there anyone to curb
The insults of the proud.

JEHUDAH HALEVI.

Similar are the complaints of the poets, Benjamin, Abraham, and Reuben. "Give gold," a theme of which the Midrash Tanchuma treats, variously recurs in numberless prayers, some of which describe the oppressive taxes, others the arbitrary requisitions of money and the open plundering. "Israel cries aloud on account of the exorbitant imposts. Edom

has burdened us with them; and presses us and grinds us down and collects arrears; O Lord, lighten the yoke thrown upon us by the task-masters!" "They are extorting tribute, they come with violence, we are impoverished!" "I am scarcely able," exclaims Gershom, "to bear the yoke of her who thirsts after gold; she cries, 'Fill the measure, bring plenteous gifts.'" Abraham b. Samuel, Eleazar b. Jehudah, and others complain that the Jews are deprived of all their substance; and Amittai states, "They do not content themselves with the confiscation of houses." At nearly the same time Gershom and Simeon deplore the prevailing distress; similar complaints are heard from all countries.

As long as oppression and exclusion had not subjected the Jews from infancy to habitual contempt, and as long as fanaticism had not yet pervaded the masses, the Jews lived on peaceful terms with their fellow-citizens, for no real antagonism was entertained against them by the people. But the priests strained every nerve to crush the Jews morally, and to withdraw all sympathy from them by declaring that "Jewish" and "diabolical" were synonymous terms. In Syria, as in France, many Christians had visited the synagogues, joined in the celebration of Jewish festivals, and often preferred Jewish to Christian preachers and judges; Jews and Christians visited one another, feasted together, and even intermarried. This drove the fathers of the church

to frenzy; they had recourse to tyrannical edicts and councils. When the authority of monachism became prevalent, when canonizations and pilgrimages to the tombs of saints were on the increase; in fine, when Hildebrand secured the ascendency of the priests in Europe, the Jews sank lower and lower; and after they had been reduced by legislation and custom to extreme contempt, it was easy for the populace to belabor the helpless with abusive epithets. Men called them dogs,[3] and heaped upon them every insult. "We are abused," says a penitential hymn, "spat upon, and treated like mire in the streets; we sit speechless in the corner, like witnesses taken in a lie; we listen to provocation and answer nought."

> Boldly Thee they vilify
> In the presence of Thy people;
> I dare not venture to reply,
> For lo! they're come to torture me.
>
> IBN EZRA.

In the presence of a privileged church mere utterances are as dangerous as rejoinders. Scorn was especially prolific in regard to the expectation of a Messiah. The Psalmist (Ps. xlii. 4) weeps that he is scoffed at all the day long with the question, "Where is now thy God?" These tears continued to flow. They were wrung from all the poets of the synagogue. Similar complaints were made even by the distinguished Chasdai b. Isaac, in his

letters to the Chazar, and long before him in the Midrash to Lamentations, 76, *b*.

O hear how she derides us—
"Ye still expect a restoration?
The ruins are abandoned,
And ye, forlorn and forgotten!"

KALIR.

"Why so sad, thou princely child?"
Thus resounds the scorn of Moloch's servants:
"Times appear and pass away;
Wherefore does the son of Jesse tarry?
If your God in heaven's height
Will with wonders bear you upward,
Wherefore, then, we seek to know,
Do his splendid chariots linger?"

MOSES.

"Your Messiah cometh slowly!" the simpletons shout to me. They call me the waif cast up in every corner, and the one who hopeth in vain. My oppressors nod their heads; daily they inquire of me, "Thou, so wretched and despised, dost thou still retain thy hope?" And men, perceiving me, exclaim, "Behold the crazy dreamer!"

JOSEPH B. MEIR IBN MOHAGER.

They say, "In vain, she hopes
Salvation cometh not, thus long delayed!"

JEHUDAH HALEVI.

I hoped that all my foes
Would see my swift redemption;
But they mock and say: "Away as a cloud

It passeth; no hope is left for thee,
I hearken shame-filled, and my tears
Flow unresistingly.

ANONYMOUS.

When will Thy vengeance
Light upon defiant men,
Who day by day inquire,
"Where is now your God?
Can you lie down to sleep?
Can you in peace escape
From our poniards, from our chains?
Begone, and call upon God!"

ISAAC SENIRI.

"Outcasts, for what are ye waiting?" was the taunt with which men designed to shake the faith of the Jews; and the very misery that was imposed upon them was made a count in their indictment. "You must be worthless," it was said, "since you lead such a degraded life and possess no substance." Where pressure and persuasion were of no avail, the opponents used force, demolished synagogues, interdicted Jewish ceremonials, drove Jews out of the country, and attempted compulsory baptism. Such instances occurred in Spain in 694 and in Constantinople in 722. The followers of the Koran, also, from the ninth century downward, made the Jews feel the effect of their exclusiveness in doctrine. Saadyah ibn Danan wrote (about 1480) that compulsory conversions took place not only in Christendom but also in the Arab states, which oc-

cupied the greater part of the then known world and contained the greater portion of the Jews. The sword of conversion unfortunately fell upon many congregations in the land of the Caliphs, in Arabia, in Africa and Spain, at the time of Chivi Balkhi (in the ninth century), and in the days of Maimonides (1150). Thus, according to Mahometan authors, famous Israelites, such as Dunash b. Temim and Chasdai b. Chasdai, were compelled to quit their community to embrace Islam.

During these and similar persecutions, informers and apostates became especially active. Coming from the ranks of the Jewish people, and swayed by vindictiveness, or seduced by vanity and corrupted by lucre, these men (chiefly converted Jews) brought sorrow and death upon their own kindred.[4] Spying and eavesdropping for the purpose of doing injury are forbidden in the Pentateuch; and in the Midrash to Proverbs (chap. vi.) the traducer is placed on a par with the murderer. "My mother's children were angry with me," says the Song of Solomon (i. 6). Commenting upon this, Tobias b. Eliezer observes, "These are the iniquitous Israelites who harm and rob us by the help of Christianity." Similar complaints are uttered by Simeon, Gershom, Amittai, Elijah b. Shemaiah, Maimonides, the author of the earlier Nizachon, Benjamin b. Abraham, and numberless others. Benjamin Halevi, a poet of three centuries ago, heard the trumpet of salvation "when the arrogant, the idolater,

and the informer crawl along in disappointment." The persecution at Limoges, in 992, was the work of an apostate. The first disclosures, which were afterward retailed as "discoveries," emanated from converted Jews. These apostates assisted the monks in working up controversial attacks against the Jews, and coerced the rabbins in Spain, France, and Germany to engage in religious disputations in public. When, in 1378, Charles V. of France issued an edict against their denunciations, innumerable victims had already fallen. To this class of men is to be ascribed the invention of fictitious charges concerning the immolation of children, the drinking of blood, the poisoning of wells, the crucifixion of the Host. To these men we owe the denunciation of Jewish writings and prayers, and from among them came forth the Censors and Revisers who preserved a memorial for themselves in the profaned manuscripts, in the mutilated works, and in utterly disfigured and useless editions of Hebrew publications.[5]

Terrible as was the fate of the Jews in those ages, it is scarcely a subject of surprise. Even under our eyes similar cruelties are perpetrated in uncivilized countries, and similar violence is done to slaves by white-skinned barbarians.

The Middle Ages are the period of barbarism, that is, of the united sway of physical force, ignorance, and priestcraft. These were the halcyon days of certain precious inventions, such as auricu-

lar confession and celibacy, disallowance of the Bible, Carthusian monachism, crusades, and trials for witchcraft, inquisitions, and the burning of heretics. Priestcraft and rapacity crushed the prosperity of Provence, impoverished Spain, depopulated Asia and America. Despots and priests left in their track more misery and desolation than had been caused by all the Scythians, Huns, and Vandals together. Among Poles, Bohemians, Magyars and Chazars, Franks and Bulgarians, Bedouins and Mongols, the Jews unquestionably fared better than among mediæval Christians. The ecclesiastics, whose butcheries were on the increase in England, about and after 1150, sufficiently proved their merciful temper in the slaughter of the Albigenses, Waldenses, Protestants, and heretics; and Israel's Selichah (expiatory prayer) furnishes but a single page in that record.

The Jews, who in England, France, and Germany passed like merchandise from hand to hand, were required, now by priests and rulers, now more truculently by the populace, to submit to baptism. Often, in case of refusal, blood was shed, and, amid such scenes, a thousand-voiced echo of loyalty burst forth from the poetry of the synagogue. "Beware of denying the Only One, of forsaking your religion, and of breaking your faith," was the usual refrain. Under oppression, the noble-minded sufferers uttered their fairest sentiments. The bruised flowers sent forth a sweet odor.

The enchained proved to be freer than his torturer.

Obey the rule of heaven's laws,
And be no servant of the dead.
Declare that souls have burst the bonds
Which chained them to a mortal state.

JEHUDAH HALEVI.

Because I fear the One Lord God,
I fear amongst the many—none.

IBN EZRA.

If to My law ye will be true,
Ye shall be free, as kings are free.
Who covets pride and glittering state,
Is humbled as a slave of slaves.

IBN EZRA

Endure dispraise for fearing Him
Whose name is ONE;
But never be through idols raised
To rank and might.

ANONYMOUS.

Weighed down by sore distress,
I find more joy in Him,
Than if rewards of men
Were glittering on my breast.

JOSEPH BONFOS.

Those who submitted to death for the sake of religion were termed "saints." Everybody was bound to mourn for them, and, when it was practicable, a funeral oration was to be delivered. The

widow of the "saint" was advised to honor God and the "martyred one" by refraining from marrying a second time. Their deaths were commemorated in the Sabbath service. During the first Crusade, when the Jews of Mayence were threatened with death by the populace if they refused to be baptized, men, women, and children assembled and then killed themselves.

Although tormented and ill-treated,
And dragged to die upon the scaffold,
We cling to Thee with growing fervor.
They strike and wound us sorely,
To turn our hearts from Him that liveth,
And to impress us with their worship.
They tempt us with enticements,
And would ensnare us with their cunning;
That we, deserting Thee, should barter
Our faith for faith in Baal's power.
Embroidered even on their vesture
Is shown to us the sign of terror.
With flattery, too, they would beguile us:
But we are Thine, though maimed and shattered!
The pious wives despatch the work
And offer up their guileless babes.
The fathers quickly slay their sons,
And wish not to survive their dead.
To render homage to Thy unity,
The young, the fair, prepare for death,
With "Hear, O Israel!" on their lips.
The bride and bridegroom now breathe forth
The dying words, "The Lord is One!"
They who, in life were wedded,
Through hallowed death are reunited.

KALONYMOS B. JEHUDAH.

From that time many a zealous French rabbi immolated his young pupils if they were in peril of falling into the grasp of the baptizing enemy, as is mournfully stated by Amittai. One day a rabbi was seized by some Christians and flayed alive.

There were some who killed themselves, following the example of those who had suffered during the persecution at Limoges. By later authorities such suicides were declared to be lawful; even infanticide was permitted. From scenes attending such persecutions, and recurring in the uncivilized East, as late as the seventeenth century, one, not inclined to murder for the sake of his church, turns away with horror. The outcry of Jechiel b. Abraham, "I am trampled upon like mire, seethed in the caldron, threshed like straw, and crushed as in a wine-press," is not a mere figure of speech. Literally true, also, are the words of Eleazar in the "Elegy of Zion":

> Thy faithful sons, whom Thou in love hast owned,
> Behold! are strangled, burnt and racked and stoned;
> Are broken on the wheel; like felons hung;
> Or, living, into noisome charnels flung.
> I see them yonder, of their eyes bereft,
> And there their mangled limbs in twain are cleft.
> Beneath the wine-press are their bodies drawn,
> Crushed, drowned, or with harsh saws asunder sawn.

The three contemporaries and fellow-townsmen, Menachem b. Jacob, Eleazar, and Ephraim b. Jacob, corroborate the fact, which is also related concern-

ing the Byzantinians of a former period, that the Jews were placed under wine-presses. Joel Halevi states that pregnant women were cut to pieces, and some were thrown into seething-pots; others, while still breathing, were tied to the wheel, or were buried alive.[6]

A poet therefore justly exclaimed:

A race that has been tested,
And tried through fire and water,
Is surely prized by Thee
And purified from sin.

If they were not always beaten to death, they were certainly beaten often enough. For ages rang through the Selichah that complaint of the overseers of the children of Israel in Egypt, "Thy servants are beaten" (Exodus v. 16).

He struck me with his staff
And tore away my skin.
ELIJAH.

Perchance our God may have compassion on us, who are at all times tortured. SAMUEL.

We are stricken with rods and staves,
We are pouring forth our life's blood.
ELEAZAR.

"They are beaten in every street," exclaims a poet in the Mahometan dominion; a Karaite speaks of "beating and torturing by the hand of

the foe." The fact that the Byzantinians ill-treated them is confirmed by Benjamin of Tudela. An ancient elegiac poet, perhaps Kalir, complains that they were smitten on the face, whereby he could scarcely mean the official slap on the face which used to be given at Toulouse, in Passion week. Benjamin gives a distressing account of the sufferings of his brethren; he relates that their wardens were whipped with rods. Disputes among the Jews furnished pretexts for the extortion of fines. The testimony of old women or young informers brought many to the torture, and from the torture to the stake. During the repeated expulsions they suffered enormous losses and every kind of affliction. Synagogues were turned into churches; tombstones were shattered; Hebrew books were carried off, torn, and burnt. Superstitions and fabled absurdities served to imperil the condition of the Jews during their most harmless observances; *e.g.*, during the celebration of Purim. Once a number of Jews, returning from a funeral, washed their hands, according to custom, in running water. The populace flocked together and killed several of them, probably under the impression that the water had been polluted or poisoned. When drought, pestilence, or conflagration raged, the Jews were held responsible on account of their infidelity. Accordingly they were cast out of their dwellings, and, at times, thrown upon the blazing ruins of their own homes; they were driven out of the towns

until rain set in, or were subjected to similar acts of injustice. Hence we hear, in the supplications for rain, in the writings of Gershom, Tobelem, Benjamin, Jechiel—all of the eleventh century—complaints mingled with exasperation against idolatry. And the poets of three different centuries and countries, Jechiel, Jehudah Halevi, Ibn Ezra, Isaac Seniri, Isaac Tarfon, quote in such prayers the passage from Jer. xiv. 22, "Are there any among the vanities of the Gentiles that can cause rain?"

In the eleventh century, France, Italy, Germany, Bohemia, and Greece were, at different times, the scenes of persecution. Christian heretics were being burnt as Manichæans, and Jews were either forcibly converted or killed. Probably during such an occurrence Moses of Pavia perished, and the son of Gershom had to submit to baptism. Under the Arabs, Moors, etc., the Jews had likewise to suffer. Their utterances of complaint against the "Hagarites, Ishmael, the son of the handmaid, the wild man," and so on, begin with Joseph Abitur and extend to modern times. In 1010, a raid was made upon the French Jews, on the statement of a monk that the Jews of Orléans betrayed the plans of the Christians to the Sultan. Seven years later the Jews were troubled at Rome, where some were beheaded on account of an earthquake; about the same time they were expelled from Russia. To this period probably belongs the accusation against a Jew of Paris, that he had thrown into boiling wa-

ter a consecrated wafer which he held in pawn. On the rack he confessed all that was desired, and was burnt alive. A mass, a painting, and a song served to celebrate this atrocity. In 1040 the Pope had to protect the Jews from Ferdinand I. In 1050 a Council at Cuença forbade Christians to eat at the same tables with Jews; in 1059, when some churches were burnt down in Bohemia, the Jews were robbed of everything and exiled from the country. With spoil amounting to 85,408 marks in silver, the churches were restored. In 1066 the Jews were disquieted at Trèves; in the same year the congregation of Granada were massacred. In 1090 there was also a persecution in Toledo.

The terrible massacres of the Jews, in consequence of the first Crusade, are notorious. In France, on the Rhine, and also in Metz and at Ratisbon, entire congregations, no less than single victims, were swept away. Monks had published a document, alleged to have been found on the tomb of Jesus, in which the conversion of the Jews was demanded. According to some accounts, the atrocious acts extended to Prague and the borders of Hungary. The Jews of Speyer, Mayence, Worms, Meurs, Santen, Gelders, and other places on the Rhine fell as heroes or died by their own hands. The first victim was a woman at Speyer. Isaac b. David and Uri, inhabitants of Mayence, having been forcibly baptized, recanted. The former sol-

emnly put to death his two daughters, and, setting his house on fire, he and his fellow-sufferers passed away in the flames. Elsewhere, Samuel b. Jechiel, an aged man, fled with his only son into the water, where he cut his son's throat, and then caused himself to be put to death by another person. Isaac Halevi, having been baptized in a state of unconsciousness, afterward threw himself into the Rhine. Shemaryah of Worms, after putting to death his wife and children, was buried alive; he had the option of saving himself by receiving baptism.

In Worms there perished, at that time, among others, the Cohanim Levi b. Samuel and his brother Simson; Chakim with his sons; Samuel with two sons, Solomon Meir and Jechiel, with their wives and children; Moses, the eight sons of Isaac, Kalonymos, Isaac Abraham b. Simson, Simson and his wife, Samuel and his daughters, and Jacob.

Of Levites are named Jehudah and his son Moses, Eliezer with his wife and his grandson Joel, R. Jacob, Eleazar, R. Asher and his wife, Asher and his children, Isaac with his son Asher, Benjamin, Samuel; also Asher b. Eleazar, Eliezer, Isaac, Jacob, and Samuel, all with their wives and children. Asher killed his five sons; Zipporah, an aged woman, and her son Isaac caused their throats to be cut. Moreover, there are named forty-four women and maidens—exclusive of those unnamed, who perished together with their families—and about seventy householders, most of them with their wives and

children; in all about 140 families. The hosts led by Godfrey were not implicated in all these horrors; but on the conquest of Jerusalem they caused the Jews residing there to be burnt in the synagogue.

In the year 1107 it was designed to force the Jews of Lucena to don the turban; in 1111 they were disquieted in Bohemia. A few years later they were plundered at Kief; they were guilty of having provisions and adherents. There is also a notice of a persecution at Rome in 1117. At that early period, so long as seven hundred years back, Moses b. Ezra sang:

> Their sorrows have enfeebled them,
> And fall on them in endless numbers;
> The cares which plunge them in despair,
> Cannot in books their record find.
> If ye would have your fill of horrors,
> Ye need but read their tales of woe!

When the victorious Spaniards began to shake the Arab supremacy, Jehudah Halevi—about 1130—already anticipated the imminent fall of Ishmael; but between 1142 and 1147 the African Mahometans vented their fury on the adherents to the Jewish faith both in Northern Africa and Andalusia; and all were compelled, externally at least, to embrace Islam. At nearly the same period the Persian Jews suffered on account of a so-called Messiah. At the same period, in 1146 and 1147, the terrors

of the second Crusade assailed the congregations which had barely recovered from the calamities of the first; and frightful indeed would their lot have been had not Bernard of Clairvaux effectually pleaded their cause against the monk Rudolphus. Yet even then there were victims enough for their faith. One Simeon of Cologne had his head cut off; Minna of Speyer lost her ears and thumbs; while the Jews of Cologne were allowed to take refuge in a fortress, after pledging all their property to the Bishop. Alexander b. Moses, Abraham b. Samuel, Kalonymos b. Mordecai, all three of Bacharach, having left the fortress, were killed on the way because they wished to remain Jews. These men were buried in Mayence. Samuel b. Isaac of Mayence lost his life on the road, after having slain three of his enemies. Guthalda was seized at Weissenburg, and, on refusing Christianity, was drowned. In March, 1147, a Christian was found in the water at Würtzburg, and, as a corpse, wrought miracles; therefore R. Isaac, while engaged in his studies, was put to death, with twenty-one others. Also at Worms and in Bohemia, in various localities in Germany, in England, France, and Carinthia, Jews were slain or slew themselves. The names of the martyrs were preserved in memorial books, and their sufferings were mentioned in special records. They are commemorated in elegies and zulaths, and particularly in several selichoth of that period.

Thou to whom my name bears witness,
Be not silent, I entreat Thee;
Leave not hid mine ebbing life's blood!
High above in heaven's regions,
Far and wide in halls of learning,
And where people meet together,
Be my sacrifices published!
How my tender infants perished;
How their tortures laid me prostrate.
Learn to know their deeds of horror!
We were crushed and rent asunder,
Until corpse by corpse lay buried.

* * *

When suffering under tyrant's torture,
Our wives would practise priestly functions,
And sacrifice their cherished offspring;
While on the mother's knee they nestled,
The woeful work was calmly finished;
As if they went to sleep in quiet.
No heed was given to the precept,
"Slay not the young one with its mother;"
For now no sheep from folds were taken.
Fied down like lambs prepared for slaughter,
There perished fathers, sons, whole households;
And God was hallowed in his glory.
When they beheld the pictured idols,
They cried: Depart! let us be murdered!

DAVID B. MUSHULLAM.

Behold, O Lord, Thy faithful people!
The father slays his child, the dear one;
The mother has her task accomplished,
And sends to Thee her hallowed offering.
Across their knees the parents brandish

The keen-edged knives for work of slaughter;
The mother ties the child,
The father makes the gash;
They say a sacrificial blessing,
For they are met to die together,
And to make known Thy holy *Oneness*
And one announces to the other,
"This day we keep a feast of union!"
Their children all, they immolate,
As free-will gifts, as bonds of love.

ANONYMOUS.

They seized our holy congregations,
And sent among them fire, murder!
The heroes all, Thy true adorers,
Together met in convocation.
They spared no more their offspring,
Thy faith alone they honored.
The great and small, together
With mothers' babes, were slaughtered
Like offerings at the festive season.
They shouted out, "Remove your horrors,
Not them, but death we freely follow!"
And from the homes resounded wailing;
And in the streets the sword made havoc.
"O give me death!" the son entreated;
This filled the father's heart with gladness,
As though he went to joyous nuptials.
The loving hand had hushed all sorrows,
And from distress it brought deliverance:
It led the friend to blissful slumber.

EZRA B. TANCHUM.

In the year 1156, Barbarossa gave the Jews in Austria to Margrave Henry. At that time the

Jews in Persia were threatened with danger on account of David el David, of Amaria, who passed himself off as a messiah; not long after, the Jews of Fez were in similar jeopardy. In 1163 they were expelled from Leobschütz; in the same year Samuel ibn Abbas, who subsequently wrote against the Cusari, turned Mahometan. In 1168 the swords of informers were raised against the Jews of Béziers. In 1171 they were disquieted in Cologne, and banished from Bologna. In the summer of that year a more terrible catastrophe befel the congregation of Blois, where a Christian, out of mere spite, stated that a Jew had cast a murdered Christian boy into the water; and, as the informer passed the ordeal of water, the Jews were found guilty. A compromise had already been made to accept a composition of 280 livres, when the far-sighted bishop required their baptism or death. Thirty-one victims, including seventeen women, died in the flames, while chanting "Alenu Leshabeach" ["Let us praise the Lord of all"].

The pride of Israel, precious gems,
Were given over to the brute,
As, undefended by their chief,
Baptizing tyrants seized on those
Who were the noblest of my race.
It was the month when blossoms fresh
Are ripening into golden fruit:
My flowers had their perfume spread,
When wicked men with fiery rage
Did carry off the helpless prey.

They all, as one, resolved to die.
No ransom would the priest accept,
But harshly pressed them with his creed.
They all who pined in prison's night
Were vainly tortured all the day;
As once, at Sinai, one in mind,
They swore allegiance to their faith.
Well would they die, but not rebel;
They dreaded none, but Judah's God.
"To Him," said they, "our troth is pledged,
Away with gods, the works of stone!"
To test the fearless heroes' strength
There stood prepared the funeral pile;
And they with joy awaited death,
Like those whose bridal day has dawned.

HILLEL B. JACOB.

Among the victims are named: Jechiel b. David and Jekuthiel b. Jehudah, who were Cohanim, and disciples of R. Samuel b. Meir; R. Jehudah b. Aaron, Isaac, Moses, the brothers Baruch and Samuel, the brothers Menachem and Jehudah. The congregations in the vicinity redeemed the confiscated books by payment of 1,000 livres.

In 1172 Andreas succeeded in bringing some Jews to the cross at Vladimir. In the fall of the year 1179, the congregation of Boppard was severely chastised, because the body of a murdered Christian had been found on the bank of the Rhine. Youths and maidens were put to death and terror spread over the entire neighborhood. The dead body of Jehudah was dragged from place to place, and at Cologne from one gate to another. In the

dirge, composed on this event, by R. Menachem b. Jacob, it is said:

> From his garden bed our Lord
> Blossoms for his pleasure chose,
> Who came to gather many a rose.
> Nobles waited for his word;
> Amidst the rage of murderous blows
> They were in death to him restored.

By way of punishment, "Jewry" had to pay 500 florins to Barbarossa and 4,200 florins to the bishop! In the same year the conclave of French and Spanish bishops—on the introduction of the election of the pope by means of cardinals—gave rise to terror among the Jewish population.

In February, 1180, the Jews of Orléans and other cities were unexpectedly incarcerated on a Sabbath day, and had to pay 15,000 marks for their release to that gracious monarch Philip Augustus, who then had not yet attained his eighteenth year.

In 1181 three Christian boys in Vienna were playing on the ice. It gave way, and they were drowned. Many witnesses against the Jews at once appeared. One pretended to have seen the boys enter the houses of the Jews; another was aware of a holy wafer which the Jews had defiled; a third witness knew fully the Jewish mode of sacrifice. After the judicial murder of three hundred innocent persons, the corpses of the boys were found in the river.

Toward the autumn of 1182 the news of the fall

of Jerusalem into the power of Saladin began to spread in Europe. The Israelites were once more exposed to danger, and were only protected by money given to the Emperor. In Central France the Jews were, during the summer of that year, subjected to popular fury. The persecution raged still more fiercely in 1190 and 1191, in London, Norwich, and York. In the last-named town they fell upon each other, and R. Yomtob attended to the work of slaughtering.[7] The number of victims was 150, or, according to some, 500. At that time the King of France was informed that the Jews of Bray had hanged an innocent Christian. He betook himself thither, caused the place to be surrounded, and the Jews, ninety-nine in number, to be seized and burnt without inquiry. Among the victims was R. Jacob, the teacher of the law. These martyrs had simply gibbeted a figure of Haman.

In the same decade France and Leon were the scenes of persecutions. Then Rouen saw the last of its Jewish inhabitants. On the 7th of Adar (28th January) of the year 1197, a madman at Neuss killed a Christian girl in the public thoroughfare and in open daylight. Instead of imprisoning the culprit, they slew him, together with the remaining Jews, after having plundered them and bound them alive on the wheel. Four days later, on a Sabbath, the mother was buried alive, and the brother was broken on the wheel. Those who had been spared

had to pay the bishop 150 florins, and the whole neighborhood was heavily fined. At that time perished Isaac Chazan, Samuel with his son Nathan, Isaac b. Simson, Samuel b. Natronai, Baruch b. Joseph.

A few years later preparations were made for a new crusade. The first anger of the fanatics lighted upon Erfurt. Jews had their hands split asunder; three persons were hanged together, a man with his wife and daughter were burnt on the Sabbath, and, as usual, the slain were cast into the street. This was done under the old pretext of the slaughter of children. The fallen furnished the theme for the elegy of Solomon ben Abraham:

Swift as birds of prey, they darted
On our helpless men and women,
Making martyrs of our people.
But they slew the body only,
And the soul escaped uninjured.
They assailed us with false pretexts
Yea, with wrongful accusations—
"For the festive season," said they,
"Ye have slain a Christian infant!"
Yet, withal, they promised pardon,
If our faith we would relinquish.
None of the believers faltered!
First was Samuel executed;
Next his wife, and then his daughter,
Son's wife, brothers, and their offspring.
Simchah bent his head in prayer;
Joseph and his race we honour,
For he went to death in triumph.

Moses stood in fire encircled,
Followed by his son and daughter;
Who, entwined, would join their father.
Israel's tears in streams were flowing;
Nor could tears the flames extinguish.
Also Shabtai and his consort,
Who would not their faith abandon,
Were consumed to dust and ashes.
Gracious Lord, behold these victims
Who in death the truth attested,
"God is One, there is no other!"

Thus began the thirteenth century, showing what then constituted science, religion, justice, charity, civilization, and civic rights. But not the Jews alone supplied the barbarous hierarchy with hecatombs; wheresoever it passed it left wounds. As early as 1199 a translation of the Bible was consigned to the flames at Metz. Franciscans (in 1210), Dominicans (in 1217), Carmelites (in 1226), were the dread of heretics and Jews. By 1209, the Albigenses—and along with them independent thought—were swept away, and even one hundred and twenty-five years ago Haller, with the anger of a seer, exclaimed:

Curst bigotry, thou fiercest tyrant,
Not hell gave thee thy vile existence.
No! saints, the ire of priests, produced thee.
Their rules were love, their acts were fury.
Ere popes did reign, ere men were idols,
The rage of priests did crush opponents.
Who drenched with blood thy walls, Tolosa?

The Inquisition, established at Toulouse in 1229, buried heretics alive. It is revolting to read with what unconcern the chroniclers, mostly monks, refer to the sufferings of the Jews. Arrogance and bigotry changed them into ruthless monsters, into fiends. *Credere nolentes gladio trucidatos ad tartara demittunt* ("They cut the recusants down by the sword and send them to hell"), says an old historian, in reference to the butchering crusaders. That age was the zenith of ecclesiastical power; hence the Jews were plunged into the lowest depths of misery.

In 1205 the Jews in Halle were exposed to pillage and murder. The 22d of July, 1209, was a day of terror for the French Jews. The details are not given; it is probable, however, that the goading missives incessantly issued by Pope Innocent III., combined with the war against the Albigenses, led to massacres which cost two hundred persons their lives. In 1211 the safety of the Jews in Spain was imperilled in various places, owing to the Moorish wars; and the next year was marked by a rising of the peasantry at Gotha. In 1215 the Lateran Council decreed that the Jews should wear distinguishing badges.[8] In the year 1216, to which Maimonides had looked forward for the redemption, Uri, a son of the famed R. Joel Halevi, was bound like a beast and then burnt. His friend Mordecai lamented:

> Oh, thou eternal rock!
> How long wilt thou be wroth?
> To burn us everywhere,

Incessantly they cry.
To kill the innocent
Is still their clamorous wish.
Avenge, O angel Michael,
The son of Rabbi Joel,
Avenge the causeless murders,
On our tyrants and their race!

In 1217 the Jews of Toulouse were ordered by the Countess de Montfort to become Christians. The children under six years were forcibly baptized; fifty-seven submitted to baptism, the rest were put to death. Similar events occurred two years later in Anjou, Poitou, and Brittany. Five hundred joined the Church, more than 3,000 were slain, and several killed themselves or their children. In the years 1223, 1225 and 1234 the French Jews lost immense sums by the cancelling of debts. In 1225 they had troubles in Mecklenburg; in 1226 at Breslau. At that period publicity was first given in England to the story of the "Wandering Jew." The Moors under Spanish rule did not fare much better than the Jews, and were forbidden by James of Aragon to become Jews; they emigrated in great numbers.

Gregory IX., well known as the enemy of Frederick II., admonished the governments of Germany and Hungary to put the Jews under greater restrictions. In 1233 he prohibited the Christians from having religious controversies with them.

In 1236, says Trithemius, the Jews at Fulda bar-

barously assassinated some Christian boys in a mill; the guilty were burnt. The Jews having brought their complaint before the Emperor Frederick, the abbot sent the corpses as evidence to Hagenau. According to Schannat (*Hist. Fuld.*, 1729, p. 191) the Jews murdered five boys, when Conrad of Malcoz was abbot, on which account thirty-four Jews of all ages and both sexes were put to the sword (*ferro consumpti*). Both statements are false. The true story is described in three contemporary selichoth. The calamity, as was too often the case, had been conjured up by a miscreant. The dead body of a Christian having been found, the priests and populace fell on the Jews on December 10, 1234. There fell Eliezer with his wife and children, Samuel and his sons, Eliakim and his wife Minna; Samson and his wife Rachel; Aaron and his wife Rebecca; Buna and her son, and noble Hannah; children were slain on the laps of their mothers. As this seemed still insufficient, eight men were seized, tortured, and then, by legal process, condemned to death. On the 11th of Shebat (January 2, 1235) they were executed. Their names were: Nathan the aged, Solomon, Nehemiah b. Chija, Chayim, Joseph, Isaac, Jechiel Cohen, and Meir Halevi. Altogether thirty-two persons were immolated, half of whom consisted of women and children; the houses were pillaged at the same time.

The congregation of Prague appears to have undergone some trials about the same time, perhaps

because they cherished the hope of an approaching messiah. The accounts of persecutions in France are more certain. Three thousand, or, according to others, six thousand victims fell there, and it is probable that a letter of Hillel to the physician Isaac relates to this period.*

Everywhere the Talmud was persecuted. At Paris, some forty days after consigning the works of Maimonides to the flames, as many as 1,200 volumes, copies of the Talmud and commentaries thereon, were burnt. The latter event appears, however, to have happened later, since the hostile bull "*impia*" of Innocent IV. is only dated from March 9, 1244. The public destruction, by fire, took place on Friday, the 9th of Tammuz (June 17th). There were twenty-four wagon-loads of manuscripts, and most likely the convert Dunin assisted on that occasion. Since the apostates had become the tools of the preaching friars, and directed their attention to Jewish books, this literature was put under the ban of the canonical police. "I have no book of reference," writes a French rabbi to R. Meïr, of Rothenburg; "the oppressor has taken away our treasures." The same persecutors used to issue challenges to public religious disputations; and at such a one, arranged by Dunin on June 25, 1240, the rabbins of Paris were obliged to

* See the collection *Chemdah Genuzah* (Koenigsberg, 1856), p. 19.

appear. Unspeakable mischief arose from this malignant charlatanism. In 1239 a "*red*" duke ordered a chase of the Jews in Brittany. The debts due to the hunted victims were, of course, confiscated. Two years later, the congregation of Frankfort was decimated by the Christians. Avowedly in consequence of a dispute, because the conversion of a Jewish youth was to be prevented, 180 persons perished; some were openly massacred, and some were burnt in their own houses. The synagogue was demolished, the scrolls of the law were torn to shreds. This took place on Friday, the 13th of Sivan (May 24th); but in 1246 King Conrad acquitted the "faithful" of all guilt, and of the responsibility of killing and expelling "the servants of the camera." In 1243 a wafer and a maid-servant brought persecution upon the poor Jews of Belitz, and they were burnt before the Mühlenthor (Mill Gate). The hill on which these human sacrifices were burnt has since been called the "Judenberg" (Jews' Hill). The monks had all the benefit of this transaction. They instituted a pilgrimage to the miraculous spot, and, after 130 years, the earnings resulting from superstition sufficed for the erection of a chapel. In the same year, 1243, the Christians in Safed (in Palestine) built a castle on the site of the synagogue; in spite of which, in the year immediately following, Jerusalem was taken by the Mahometans.

In 1246, the Council of Béziers ordered the Jews

to pay the tithes and the ecclesiastical fees of the stole (*jura stolæ*). In 1250, the Jews at Saragossa were involved in some accusation; in 1253 the French Jews, and in 1255 the English Jews, suffered extraordinary afflictions. It was alleged that the Jews at Lincoln had crucified a Christian boy named Hugh [9]; but this much is certain, that Jopin was quartered. This is confirmed by a ballad of 368 verses. Henry III. of England sold the Jews to his brother Richard; and John's nature is apparent in the order that the teeth of a certain rich Jew should be extracted.

In 1254 the Dominicans organized the Inquisition in France; and the priests, assembled in Alby, prohibited, for the tenth time, the employment of Jewish physicians. At that time poverty and distress prevailed among the Jews of France.

Respecting the year 1256, when Augustin friars were introduced, an ancient poet says, "Our enemies came for us with sharp blades." In 1260 they suffered in England every species of oppression—fines, imprisonment, forcible conversion, assassination. At the same time the populace rose against the Jews at Naples and at Trani. Probably those times witnessed the persecutions and denunciations directed against the Talmud, about which Moses b. Abraham mournfully says:

Roll down, O tears,
Without cessation.
With harm and hurt,

A savage knave
Annuls the rules
Which Moses taught
For our observance.
An idol's slave
Enshrouds in night
Talmudic lore
And Judah's rights—
"Renounce your faith!
Reject God's word!"

In 1261 Ruprecht, Archbishop of Magdeburg, wishing to cover his travelling expenses to Rome, caused an attack to be made on the Jews of his capital and of Halle; they were robbed and arrested, and a sum of 100,000 marks was exacted from them. In the mean time, the Roman Jews fancied the time of redemption was at hand. On July 20, 1263, R. Moses b. Nachman was obliged to hold, in Barcelona, a controversy with the Dominican friar Pablo (Paul) Christiani, a convert.[10] In the following year Peter de Janua wrote "Against the Jewish Fallacies." Some Germans styled themselves at that period "Judenbrater" (Jew-roasters). Such a family resided at Strasburg in 1266. A second disputation of Paul took place on April 12, 1265, in Aragon. A provincial synod, held at Vienna in 1267, ordained numerous restrictions, and ruled that the Jews should wear the pointed hat (*pileum cornutum*). The like importance was attached to the use of this Jewish badge by St. Louis, in March, 1269. In the summer of

1270 the Jews were persecuted in Augsburg (or Weissenburg). A year later, blood was shed in Pforzheim, and in 1276 the martyr Simson perished in Mayence. On March 4, 1277, new restrictions were ordained in Austria; in 1278 Raymundus Martini, a Franciscan monk in Barcelona, issued his "Dagger of Faith" against Mahometans and Jews; two years later, Hibetalla, an Arab, wrote against the Jews. In 1281 an Austrian ordinance confirmed the rule that three days before Easter the Jews should be prohibited from leaving their quarter. Under the effective plea of the slaughter of children, an attack was made in 1285 upon the Jews of Munich, and ninety innocent persons ascended the stake with the exclamation, "Hear, O Israel!" In 1286 they were murdered in Friesland; in 1287 in Andernach and in Bern; on May 2d all the Jews in England were held in custody; forty were slain at Wesel; and at Pritzwalk a martyr had to perish on the wheel, furnishing, with his blood, the material with which the monks drove a lucrative trade in miracles. For singing too loudly in the synagogue, the Parisian Jews had to pay 300 livres in 1288; and in Troyes thirteen were burnt, namely, Isaac Catalun and his wife, two sons and a daughter-in-law, Simson Cohen, Solomon, Baruch d'Averio, Simon Sofer, Jonah, Chayim, Chananel, Isaac Cohen. In the autumn of 1290, the Jews had to quit England; about 15,000 ruined persons were compelled to emi-

grate. In the same year several were killed in Nördlingen.

The year 1292 also emptied its Pandora's box for poor Israel. An elegy states, "In this year my tormentors chased me, and I suffered disgrace."

It is possible that, owing to exactions, the persecution of Meïr of Rothenburg commenced at that time; he was seized in the summer of 1297 and conveyed to the tower of Ensisheim. Barely had the Virgin's image arrived in Loretto (in 1293), when the Flagellants arose and intimidated the Jews—an easy road to money and salvation. Those men, in fact, were simply the precursors of the period of terror in 1298 and 1299.

On the 20th of Tammuz (July 1), 1298, R. Elijah b. Samuel, a man of distinction at Rome, was executed. His crime apparently consisted in his desire to remain a Jew. The following elegy shows how this martyr was mourned:

Cruel foes with hate inflamed,
Aimed at us their fatal blow;
Guileless was the man they seized;
And when savagely they slew him,
Angels came and bade him welcome;
Took his soul in charge, and blessed it.
O'er him Zion's daughter weepeth,
Israel for Elijah mourneth,
With the Holy One communing.

"Throughout the kingdoms of the nations,
Who can be equalled to Thy people?

They followed Thee through flame and flood
As none on earth have followed Thee."
Alas! our hearts within us melted,
And all our pride sank into ashes.
Elijah rose in fire to heaven!
And round the pile the congregation
Gazed with amazement at the hero.

"Where is now Elijah's God?
When will scoff and scorning end?
Has our God forsaken us?"
Higher and higher,
Winged by fire,
Soared Elijah's sainted soul,
Bliss to earn in spheres of life.
He had seen his brethren sorely tried,
And he died for them a martyr's death."[11]

It was in this month that the Jews were slaughtered like cattle, and burnt by the troops of Rindfleisch (*i.e.*, "Beef"), who had half an ox represented on his coat of arms. The slain are estimated, by Königshoven, to have numbered one hundred thousand. Neither the Emperor nor the German Empire was able to restrain those hordes. On Wednesday, June 25th, 250 persons fell at Rothenburg; the survivors perished four weeks later, on Tuesday, July 22d. Mothers tied their children closely to their breasts and died together with them. Würzburg, on Wednesday, July 23d, and Nuremberg on August 1st, were the scenes of horror. It was the same at Mergentheim, Neuenmarkt, Bamberg, Amberg, and many

other places. A writer of that period, who lost his whole family, states that the number of these places was 146. The attacked rushed with their children voluntarily into the fire. The carnage lasted from the month of Tammuz to the eve of the Feast of Tabernacles, and included the season of mourning that precedes the Ninth of Ab; hence the elegy exclaims:

> Now die away
> My tuneful song,
> A mournful time
> Veils ancient grief
> In recent shrouds.

In some cities the communities had to expend heavy sums to secure protection. On the 6th of January, 1299, Albrecht granted to the Bishop of Mayence the sums of money taken from those who had been killed at Nuremberg; and the beasts of prey shared the carcases with each other. The following year also demanded its victims. In Franconia it was the holy wafer, and in France the Government, that gave rise to fanatical fury. The year 1300, the first of the Jubilees appointed by the Pope, spread universal dismay among the oppressed and the exiled; in fact all the feasts of a new order, such as *Immaculatæ* in 1140, and *Corpus Christi* in 1246, had their waive-offerings of Jewish blood. Those days of terror and calamity are thus described by Joel b. Isaac Halevi.

The swords are sharply set
To slay Thy faithful sons;
The chosen of Thy flock
With deadly thorns are stung.
The maidens, young and fair,
With stones are struck to death.
From darksome prison rings
Alas! my children's cry,
And chills my frame with dread.
They are borne to the stake
And die without regret,
Exclaiming, "God is One!"
Entombed while yet alive,
Their souls like incense rise.
The blood here sacrificed
Brings retribution down.
Shake, O earth, and tremble!
Dread the day of justice!

The fourteenth century, according to Schudt (*Jüdische Merkwürdigkeiten*, i. 455) the most trying that ever came upon the Jews, began with murder; so that it remains a wonder how a single Jew, after "this cruel massacre," could survive in Germany. Pinchas Halevi b. Joseph expressed his surprise at this "massacre" in the following lines:

The plotting of my haters,
Their everlasting fury,
Could never be recounted.
Bewildered and enfeebled,
My refuge rests in prayer.
Shall man, indeed, cease hoping,
While guarded by salvation?

In this century special oaths and caps were invented for the Jews, who were successively harassed by hosts of the Flagellants, the greedy kings of France, the shepherds of Languedoc, the peasants of Navarre and Germany, and by stories of poisoned wells; every incident being ushered in with its due accessories of informers, money-lenders, and monks; culminating, for the time being, in the epidemic called "the black death." [12] First of all, in 1301, the Jews were plundered at Magdeburg, and several of them were murdered. In 1303 they were killed in Meissen and Weissensee; in 1305 in Prague and Vienna. In 1306, on July 22d, occurred their expulsion from the south of France, which is described by Abbamare, Kalonymos, Estori, Levi b. Gershon, and others, whereby many families were impoverished and lost. At that time various apostates composed polemical works against their brethren in Spain. In 1309 the Jews of Brabant suffered at the hands of soldiers advancing against the Saracens. In 1310 death was inflicted on R. Mordecai in Nuremberg, as also on an alleged proselyte in Paris, and nearly at the same time on R. Chananel in Persia. The Jews were then compelled to quit Lyons. Rome was not destroyed in 1313, as had been prophesied in the Zohar; but on the 25th of February, 1314, Alphonso XI. issued an edict against the prayers of the Israelites, and, in the following year, the Jews of Worms were charged with an annual tax of 300

pounds of *hellers*, increased, in 1316, to 400 pounds, as a reward to the good old Imperial city. Louis X., in consideration of 122,125 livres, graciously permitted the children of Israel to return to France for a term of twelve years, and the Pentateuchs were returned to them, but not their Talmuds. Simultaneously the German Emperor Ludwig decreed that the cellars, chambers, arcades, and similar projections before the houses of the Jews, by which the streets were encumbered, should be removed or broken up, rendering the strait confines of their homes still more uncomfortable. John XXII. ordained that the Jews should wear a badge on the breast, and he issued a bull against the Jewish practices of the ex-Israelites (1317). In 1319 the Jews were driven out of Breslau; and in Toulouse two cartloads of copies of the Talmud were burnt.

In 1320 the persecution of the Jews by the shepherds broke out in Southern France. Peasants, shepherds, and all sorts of vagabonds, under the pretext of a crusade against Granada, roved through the land, committing ravages and murders, especially among the Jews. In Languedoc and Navarre 110 Jewish congregations were partly massacred, partly dispersed. In many places, for instance in Castle Sarasin, the Jews made away with themselves. In Toulouse only one person escaped; in all Gascony not more than twenty. In Jaca they slew 410 persons on the fast day of the 17th of

Tammuz. Many, unable to resist the terror, submitted to baptism.

In the same year the town council of Ratisbon forbade the Jews to visit the fish-market on Fridays. The council of Nuremberg had limited this prohibition to the fast days, but the malignity and perchance the enlightenment of the civic deputies had improved within ten years. Owing to prevailing diseases, the outcry that wells had been poisoned, was spread in the Dauphiné in 1321. There and in the neighborhood the victims were exposed to terrible tortures; they confessed anything that was wrung from them, and were then burnt—passing cheerfully from the prison to the stake. One historian states that those who perished in fire amounted to 5,000. The majority had to quit France again; only the richest were spared, in return for a payment of 150,000 livres. Sangisa, the sister of the Pope, tried to induce her brother to banish the Jews, but those of Rome sent a deputation to Robert of Sicily, whose persuasion, together with a gift of 100,000 florins from the Jews, changed Sangisa's determination. In 1325 there was a martyrdom at Krakow, in Mecklenburg.

In 1326 the yellow badge was decreed in Avignon. On the 6th of March, 1328, a cruel persecution began in Navarre, of which 6,000 were the victims. In 1330 a story about the holy water was the cause of a real tragedy in Güstrow; twenty-nine names of martyred persons are enumerated in the

Mecklenburg memorials of departed souls. Similar excesses happened at Ueberlingen, in 1333, with a forced loan of a thousand pounds of *Pfennigs*. In the year 1335 the council of Salamanca ordained that Jews should not reside near churches. In the same year, Lauterio de Ubaldinis wrote in Florence against the Jews, a book entitled "Capistrum Judæorum." On the day after Michaelmas, 1337, the town councillors and citizens of Deggendorf made an attack upon the Jews, who lost their lives amid the most cruel tortures. Other Bavarian and Austrian towns followed its example, and among them Straubingen distinguished itself particularly for cruelty. That a wafer, with an accompaniment of miraculous blood, a chapel, and absolution, furnished the music to these words is a matter of course. But there was composed an actual comedy which celebrates these acts, and which was performed in Regen as late as the year 1800. Erfurt, Parchim, and other places also furnished their quota of victims. A continuation of these horrors was kept up in the following year by the Alsatian peasant, Armleder. Wherever he arrived with his band, he gave the Jews the choice between death and baptism. In Ruffach, Ensisheim, and other places, more than 1,200 were slain. Several put their children to death, or precipitated them from the tops of houses and mountains. In the adjacent country of Suabia, all the Jews took to flight, and offered large sums for mere shelter. Eve, the

daughter of Moses, was burned in Breslau on the 15th of Shebat (January 6th), 1338. The names of the other victims are forgotten.

On the 2d of June, 1340, the Seneschal of Beaucaire received an order that no one should pay the debts due to Jewish creditors. Similar Imperial mandates were issued in Germany in 1343; in 1341 Alphonse XI. also issued decrees respecting the arrears due to the Jews. In 1345 Jewish tombstones were seized in Breslau. In the following year several persons in France underwent baptism, to avoid expulsion. The Flagellants made an onslaught on the Frankfort Jews, of whom several were murdered. Similar outrages occurred, in the next year (1347), in Krems and Stain. Persecutions became the order of the day, and, as possible contingencies, were noted down in the assessment for Jewish taxes.

The great plague, which from 1348 to 1350 devastated central and western Europe, brought frightful misery, compared with which the effect of the Crusades was insignificant, upon the Jews of Thuringia, and as far as Catalonia, especially upon the congregations of Alsace, Suabia, the Rhine district, Switzerland, Piedmont, and Provence. The opportunity for anti-Jewish excesses was too tempting, particularly for the roystering cavaliers, and the burghers of Imperial cities, for monks involved in debt, and for all kinds of dissipated rabble. The councillors of Basle, Freiburg, Strasburg, the

Duke of Suabia and the German Emperor could not cope with the barbarism and the fanaticism of a thousand years. Their own exclusive laws had rendered Israel defenceless; and for the defenceless, there is no justice, for the despised, no humanity. The outcry was raised that the Jews had poisoned the rivers and the wells. It was kept up by the enemies of the Jews; for "the priests and the populace were equally interested in settling their debts by the flames," as was observed by Ulrich,* eighty-six years ago. Persons were tortured, until finally they acknowledged anything. The greatest absurdity was credited, at an age when the necessity had not yet arrived for science to retrace its course.

On the 15th of September, 1348, torture was resorted to at Chillon, on the Lake of Geneva. Here the surgeon Balavigny of Thonon confessed that Master Jacob of Toledo, on a visit to Chambéry, had tendered him a quantity of poison in a leathern bag, together with letters to certain Jews, named by him; both he and others had cast this poison into several wells, etc. The individuals thus mentioned were naturally arrested, tortured, and made to confess. They consisted of eight men and women. The populace, without awaiting an investigation, ravaged with fire and sword, destroyed all bonds of debt, and shared the spoil.

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* *Jüdische Geschichten in der Schweitz*, p. 209.

The following places are named, out of a large number, over which these persecutions spread in Germany: Arnstatt, Basle (where some converted Jews were said to have pleaded guilty; after Christmas all the Jews were conveyed to a wooden house in an island on the Rhine, and the house was then set on fire); Breslau (the houses together with two synagogues were presented to the town by Charles IV.); Chillon, Costniz (where a man, who had saved himself by baptism, set fire to his house on the 2d of April, and exclaimed from the burning building, "I die as a Jew!"); Dennstatt, Eger (1350), Eisenach, Erfurt (with a Jewish population numbering 3,000 souls; they set fire to their houses and were burnt in them; R. Alexander Cohen was there the teacher of the Law); Esslingen (where all persons assembled in the synagogue and were burnt there); Frankenhausen, Freiburg, Breisgau, Fulda, Geneva, Gera, Gotha (during Lent, 1349), Hermsleben, Ilmen, Kreuzburg, Mayence (on August 23, 1349), Mühlhausen, in Switzerland (all were executed, and the houses of the fugitives were pillaged); Mulhouse in Alsace (R. Eliezer and R. Moses Cohen named as martyrs), Nebra on the Unstrut, Nordhausen (where the Jews were persecuted to please the Margrave of Meissen; R. Jacob, his son Meïr, and all his pupils were burnt); at Nuremberg (on the evening of St. Nicholas, the Jews were partly slain, partly burnt on the *Judenbühl* [Jews'-hill]), Salzburg, Salzwedel, St. Gallen

("some were burnt"), Sonderhausen, Speyer (on the Sabbath after the Feast of Epiphany in January, 1349, most of the Jews were burnt in their dwellings which they set on fire. R. Eliakim perished then); Strasburg (it had been proclaimed that any one undergoing baptism would be spared. No one heeded this promise. Eighteen hundred persons, placed on a wooden platform, at the Jewish burial ground, were burnt on the Sabbath, February 14, 1349. Mothers rushed with their children into the fire, lest they should be seized and baptized; R. Jakar and R. Jacob, the teachers of the Law, were burnt on that day); Thomasbrück, Ulm, Weissensee, Weyhe, Winterthur, Worms (480 victims, among them twelve elders, and R. Samuel, on the 1st of March, 1349), Würzburg (the three chiefs were Güldenknauf, David Cohen, Moses the preacher), Zeringen (three Jews were broken on the wheel), Zofingen (whence, as was pretended, whole bagfuls of poison had been circulated; the Jews were bound and sent to Berne, where they were tortured and burnt); Zurich (the burning took place on St. Matthew's eve).

Baruch, a contemporary author, complains:

> Our sins, forsooth, must grievous be!
> Those reckless hosts rush to the wells,
> And keep themselves in ambush hid,
> To fall on us with spiteful craft;
> They shout, "The springs are charged with death,
> With poison charged by you, ye foes,

That ye might compass our destruction.
If Jews ye still remain, ye die!"
The vessels they themselves had drugged
With matter poisoning us, not them.
That venom which was never found
Did change the draught, no man had drained,
Into a sea of burning tears
Which Thy devoted children wept.
Thy people waded through a flood,
Which into blood was quickly turned;
And out of overwhelming floods
They fell into devouring graves.
The true in heart were placed on stakes,
To make them faithless to their God;
Not Jew, nor Jewess was there found,
Who would commit a traitor's crime.

On the first of the tenth month, so he continues, the old and young put on their shrouds, and went forth to breathe out their souls in fire; mothers strangled their sucklings; women on the stake fell into the throes of labor; others pined in prisons, and those who had taken refuge in forests were stripped naked by gangs of robbers. The following lamentation may be regarded as relating to this terrible period of atrocities, when all fled, especially those from the south and the centre of Germany, toward the east.

1. Alas, the poor are injured!
They groan in ceaseless torture;
The clanking swords are brandished
Amidst assassins' uproar.
The rage, the tumult rising,

Brings terror to my children.
My foes, they who blaspheme Thee,
Lay low my nearest kindred,
They choke the creeks and fissures
With gore of youths and aged.
"How long, O Lord,
Wilt Thou restrain Thine anger?"

2. They call us impure and perverse.
Who stray and wander without rest;
By all the nations we are scorned,
We are bewildered and undone.
The open highway we avoid,
As though fierce lions lay in wait
The limbs of wives and babes lie torn;
"How long, O Lord,
Wilt Thou restrain Thine anger?'

3. Assailants raise a savage yell;
Their banner shews their foul design.
Their knaves with spear and lances come
To hurt and overpower me.
With fire-brands they have scorched my face
And for my feet have pitfalls dug,
I hasten on without delay:
The sheltering cleft becomes my grave;
Meanwhile the foe, from mansions high,
Looks down triumphant on my fall.
"How long, O Lord,
Wilt Thou restrain Thine anger?"

Terror also raged in Savoy and Provence. In May, 1348, an entire congregation, including women and children, was burnt. In Barcelona they killed, on a Sabbath, twenty persons, in Cervera

eighteen, in Tarega, on the 10th of Ab, above 300, at Solsona (Catalonia) the same number—the murder being, in every instance, attended by plunder. In all the places where the report of these occurrences was spread, fasts were ordered. In 1351, Jews were burnt at Königsberg, and in Neumarkt.

In 1355, the Jews of Nuremberg were compelled to demolish their synagogue to make way for the Church of St. Mary. In 1360, on St. James's Day, several persons were slain at Breslau. From 1366 to 1368 the Spanish congregations, especially those of Castile, experienced a period of sorrow and affliction, owing to internal wars. The Jews were slain and plundered, many changed their religion, and, even after the termination of the war, they had to bear heavy burdens. The places named are: Briviesca, where 200 heads of families were slain; Villadiego (a congregation, whose benevolence and learning were praised); Aguilar, Valladolid, which was plundered, and eight synagogues destroyed (the scrolls of the law being torn, and cast into the streets), and Paredes. In Burgos they were obliged to give Andreas 50,000 doubloons. For that purpose they had to sell all the silver of their synagogues, for about the sixth part of the value. In the same year, 1368, the inhabitants of Toledo nearly succumbed to a famine, during a siege. In the subsequent year, Samuel Halevi Abulafia, being persecuted by some miscreants, was executed there. A monk of that period occasioned a massacre at

Posen. The French Jews, who had been incessantly hunted, obtained precarious safety at a dear price. In 1370, the year of the erection of the Bastile, several Jews were burned at Brussels on the 22d of May. This day, sacred unto Moloch, became a national festival, which was discontinued simultaneously with the destruction of the Bastile.[13]

In 1371, a flood of edicts was poured forth in Austria. It is stated that the Jews were to be forced to baptism. A young convert who recanted was burnt. In 1373 the Jews were expelled from Cologne; in 1374 from Upper Alsace; in 1380 they were driven out of Ulm. In Nördlingen 200 were murdered, on the Friday after St. James's Day, 1384, and their property was seized. In the same year they were chased out of Magdeburg; the congregations of Nuremberg and Augsburg were mulcted, the latter of the sum of 22,000 florins. A dirge of that period reads as follows: "Woe to you Basle, Ueberlingen, Ulm, Esslingen, Augsburg, Nördlingen! Thy helpless children, O Daughter of Zion, were thrown into the torrent, hanged, stoned, slaughtered. Weep for Eger, Salzburg, Breslau, and for the many places I cannot mention. Lament over Provence, France, Savoy, where the Nazarene reduced my holy places to ashes, drew the pictures of his saints in my sacred books and patched his boots with the scrolls.

"In Corbeil the soil was ploughed over R. Menachem, and R. Isaac, the reader, perished. In Kal-

isch, Cracow, and Glogau the sword was raging. A lament and a wail unto thee, O lovely Vienna, for thee, O lauded Worms! where R. Aaron offered up his life and expired amid tortures."

To plunder and kill the Jews were held to be a Christian duty and a proof of chivalry. In 1386 some Jews, returning from a meeting held at Weissenfels, were plundered by nobles, and in part massacred, though, like Huss, they had safe escort. A knight, being reproved for this breach of faith, defended himself by saying that if the enemy of his earthly master were his own enemy, the enemy of his heavenly Master was still more so. (This observation met with general applause.) In 1388 they were driven out of Strasburg. The Council of Palencia enjoined that the Jews should everywhere live apart from the Christians. In the following year Wenceslaus annulled a great portion of the claims which the Jews had in Suabia and Franconia. In the same year, on Sunday, the 18th of April, which was the last day of Passover, there was a great massacre in the congregation of Prague. Its most estimable members were slain; the teacher of the Law killed his children and the other inmates of his house; synagogues and tombstones were destroyed; children were subjected to acts of violence, and all property pillaged. The persecution extended throughout the neighborhood. Also in other Bohemian and Moravian localities Jews lost their lives. In consequence of the decrees

of Wenceslaus, the debtors of the Jews at Nuremberg paid the Town Council, in 1390, thirty florins out of every hundred, and so were rid of their debts.

The year 1391 was one of sorrow for the Jews of Spain. On the 4th of June bloodthirsty priests and a rapacious mob attacked the Jewry of Seville, and set it on fire. Of the seven thousand Jewish families a great number were slain; the majority in their distress submitted to baptism. Some of the women and children were sold to the Moors. Similar events happened at Cordova. On the 20th of June there was a tumult in Toledo, where the descendants of R. Asher with their disciples died for their faith; some taking their own lives. In the whole neighborhood, in about seventy places, raged the sword of the Faithful. On the 9th of July, the cry of murder resounded in Valencia. Of a thousand fathers of families a fourth part perished. The 2d of August was a day of affliction for the congregations of Majorca; 300 perished, 400 fled, the rest became Christians. On Sabbath, the 5th of August, all Barcelona Jewry was destroyed; 130 Jews were slain, and the plunder was universal. The same fate befell Lerida and Gerona. In many places the Jews fought with the courage of despair. In Catalonia, only few Jews were left; in Valencia, they escaped in only one place, Murviedo. It has been asserted that during those three months more than 200,000 Jews changed their religion. Among

the slain were R. Jehudah b. Asher; R. Isaac ibn Shushan; R. Israel Elnakawa.

The priests were not yet satisfied. An archbishop urged his flock to continue attacking the Jews, and to give them the alternative of the cross or death. In the mean time, the German Jews did not rest on a bed of roses, while the French Jews, in 1395, were at length compelled to quit their country altogether. The University of Heidelberg then received the books of the expelled Jews. To the same period belongs the confiscation of Hebrew books in Aragon. Scholars deplored the want of books as bitterly as the apostasy of the rich, and the venality of the learned. "They forbade us then," writes Abraham ibn Romach, "the possession of the Thorah and other books, which they brought into the churches." In 1399 Timour in Asia raged against Israel. In Posen 14 Jews were tortured and burnt. In the same year Pesach-Peter [an apostate informer] in Prague began his denunciations. Thanks to him, 177 Jews were slain there on the 22d of August, 1400, and 3 were burnt on the 11th day of September. Abigedor of Prague, a contemporary, prayed:

"Redeem me from the hand of robbers!
Who utter daring accusations;
They crush, they murder;
The godly they dishonor
With heinous imputations
Of their dissembling priesthood."

It is to be noted that in this year of jubilee, the White Cross Monks and the Flagellants had cherished designs against the children of Israel. In 1401 tragical events took place in the Swiss Cantons. The cry of poisoned wells was heard in Winterthur. First came a torture not unworthy of the Iroquois. Lemle Matthias and Hirsch had the calves of their legs ripped up and boiling pitch poured in. Tortures were also applied under the soles of the feet and under the nails, as in the days of the pagan emperor Hadrian. The poor women cried in vain:—"Murderers ye are, and wretches!" There, at Schaffhausen (on a Sabbath) and at Dissenhofen 57 were burnt. Similar atrocities were committed in 1402 in Glogau, only that here a sacramental wafer aided the executioner. In 1405, they had to quit Speyer. In 1406, the erection of new Jewish schools was forbidden in Nuremberg. In Vienna, Jewish houses were plundered and consigned to the flames on the 4th of November. The 26th of October, 1407, was a calamitous day for the Jews of Cracow, where a priest was the instigator. Enrique III. of Castile threatened to sell into slavery any Jew omitting to pay the new impost. In 1410, R. Meïr Alguades, the translator of the Ethics, was executed in consequence of a miraculous wafer, and a Synagogue at Segovia was converted into a church. A similar transformation happened in the following year at Toledo.

In the same year (1411) the debts due to the

Jews of Olmütz were annulled; the Meissen Jews were first heavily mulcted and then expelled. In Spain, where converted Jews were preaching and plying their pens, every expedient was used to render infidel Israel obedient and tributary to the hierarchy. At the great disputation, held in Tortosa during the winter of 1413, a converted Jew made a grand display; the most learned men of Catalonia and Aragon, who had been summoned, were forced to respond. In 1415 the Jews of Austria were required to surrender a fifth of their income. In 1416 a German (Theobald) wrote against the "Talmudical monster." In 1417 the Jews of Frankfort were styled "Jew-dogs," as afterward "privileged Jews" (Schutzjuden). In 1418 Sigismund annulled and declared void, for the safety of German Christendom, a third of all debts due to Jews. The orthodox masses, who in consequence of the war of the Hussites were incensed against heretics, rendered the year 1420 full of danger for the Jews. In Austria this wretchedness and misery extended over ten months; up to the 12th of March, 1421, no less than 400 perished, and 800 were driven away. On the Feast of Tabernacles R. Jonah slaughtered his congregation. In other places, in Bohemia, Franconia, Saxony, Westphalia, and on the Rhine, the feeling of the masses was menacing. In Eger, R. Nathan had ordered his wife, at a given signal, to sacrifice their sons. Near Wesel and Nuremberg, at Jena and on the Rhine, Jews had fallen victims. A

maiden and several other women resisted every kind of torment. R. Jacob Mölln Levi at that time ordained that "the last three days of Tishri (6th to 8th of October, 1420) should be observed as days of prayer and humiliation." In that year a synagogue at Jauer was turned into a church, and the Jews inhabiting Richweiller (in Alsace) were expelled. In 1422 the Jews of Prague had to submit to pillage; those of Cologne were expelled and had to settle at Deutz. In 1424 the synagogue of Neuss was changed into a chapel, and the Jews of Zurich were driven out. On the 14th of February, 1426, Pope Martin V. hurled a bull at the Israelites. In 1428 some Jews were burnt at Ratisbon, and on the 18th of October, 1429, Joan II. of Naples decreed an exaction of an extraordinary poll-tax. In 1430, when the Messiah was expected, the Jews of Worms had to defend themselves against notorious accusations, and they were altogether driven from Speyer. On the 24th of January the Jews were suddenly attacked at Aix; nine persons were slain, and seventy-four, in their terror, submitted to baptism. "That was a day of desolation," said, at a later time the historian, Joseph Cohen, "when unexpectedly the congregation was plundered and destroyed; the waters imperilled life. Look down, O God, and help us for the sake of Thy name." The Jews of Ravensburg, Ueberlingen, and Lindau were charged, about that time, with the murder of a boy. Those who were tortured confessed; anything was

written down that seemed to be essential, then came the sentence and the burning. In 1431 the peasants in the vicinity of Worms conspired against the safety of the Jews at Worms.

About this period Fra Vicenza incited the people of Castile to persecutions, so that parents massacred their children; also in Savoy the Jews were hunted down (in 1435), and Hebrew books were hidden in wells. A similar precaution was taken by several persons, who buried their books when driven out of Carpentras. There is a volume (in the Bodleian Library, Cod. Uri 496) in which the owner offers thanks to God, that a copy had come into his possession and had not been consigned to the earth.

Similar things happened in Portugal in 1497. In 1436 the interest on debts was annulled in Bohemia. The people of Hagenau were forbidden, by the Emperor, to let or sell tenements to the Jews. In 1440 the Jews had to quit Augsburg; in 1442 they were ordered in Germany to wear the yellow ring as a badge.

The infallible Eugenius IV., who on the 8th of August raved against the Talmud, appears to have been pacified in the autumn by the proffer of gold. In the same summer Cairo witnessed the martyrdom of Solomon Cohen, who was executed on the 20th of May. When there was a chance for plundering, the Jews were the greatest sufferers, as in Switzerland, during the Burgundian war, and in Africa, at Temesgran and Mustiganem. In Octo-

ber, 1443, the congregation at Avignon was threatened with destruction. A mob of rioters was on the point of plundering and murdering, but was dispersed, and the ringleaders were punished. In 1444 they had to leave Utrecht; in 1447 they were obliged to move from Liegnitz into the suburbs. From the year 1451 they had to wear the badge at Nuremberg. In 1452 Capistrano, the Franciscan monk, began his rambles through Silesia, and incited the people against the Turks and the Jews. The old stories, about the desecration of the "Host" and so forth, current for many ages, were employed to infuriate the multitude. In 1453, by the instigation of this worthy, the Jews (including seven Jewesses) were burnt in Schweidnitz. Those who were spared had to leave the town, and were deprived of their houses and fields. In Jauer five Jews were tortured, and afterward all were evicted. In the same year Wolf b. Löwe at Frankfort was burnt alive; Arles was the scene of a "blood-accusation"; and in Avignon the Minorite friars preached on the duty of abominating the Jews. At the instigation of Capistrano, supported by a converted Jewess, forty-one Jews in Breslau and in places adjoining were burnt in 1455; the rest, impoverished and ruined, had to quit the town. The Rabbi of the place strangled himself.

At that time evictions occurred in Olmütz and Vienna, and cruel banishments from forty Bavarian towns. In 1456 the Jews in Salamanca were in

danger of life. Highwaymen had murdered a boy, and the populace, as usual, raised an outcry against the Jews; but, fortunately, the culprits were captured. The year 1457 was distinguished by two privileges. Permission was given to the town of Schweidnitz to refuse domicile to the Jews; and to the Catholic inhabitants, to establish commissions for granting absolution. In 1458 the Jews ceased to live at Erfurt; in 1461 they had to quit Savoy. In the next year Albrecht of Brandenburg informed them that any newly crowned Emperor might deprive them of life and estates, provided that he left a small remnant as a memorial; he, however, "would generously content himself with the third of every penny which he had farmed." It is true in Medina del Campo no imperial coronation took place; yet occasion was found to thrust some Jews into the fire. In 1464 Jews at Cracow were plundered and murdered by bands advancing against the Turks. In 1467 eighteen Jews were burned at Nuremberg; in the next year the trade corporations expelled them from Neisse, and in 1469 they were plundered in Posen. In 1470 Ephraim Kalman was drowned at Ratisbon.

In several cities of Southern Spain New Christians and Old Jews alike were persecuted, being, at the same time, at the mercy of informers, monks, and literati. An ex-rabbi, named Victor of Carben, received baptism in 1472, in order to write against Israel. In 1473 a converted Jew at Ratis-

bon brought forward accusations against Rabbi Israel Bruna; these were attended by persecutions, and in 1474 the Jews were compelled to hold disputations with the convert. About the same time Bamberg rid itself of its Jewish citizens; and in the south, Bernardinus of Feltre undertook the work of Capistrano. In the year 1475, about Passover time, some wretch at Trent, who had murdered a boy two years old, cast the corpse, by night, into a pond near the residence of Samuel. Shortly afterward the Jews were forced, under torture, to make false confessions; only one aged man named Moses refused to speak an untruth, and died from his wounds. In Padua and elsewhere this event caused great upheaval; and even in far-away Sicily it cost innocent persons their lives. In the following year the apostate Wolfram invented a similar accusation at Ratisbon. Several persons were incarcerated, and for four long years awaited their trials. In 1477 the Swiss plundered the Jews of Colmar and Schlettstadt. About the same time the merciful bishop of Passau caused some Jews to be burnt, and the others to be driven away. In 1479 the Inquisition of Spain, specially appointed for the purpose of burning those who were secret Jews, began its operations. In 1481 Jews were immolated in Seville, on four occasions, namely, January 10th, March 26th, April 21st, and November 4th. Then followed, in close succession, the expulsions from Arles (1484), Vicenza (1486), Würzburg (1489),

Geneva (December, 1490), Thurgau (1491), Glatz and Halle (1492).

Harsh ordinances were enacted in 1488 at Ratisbon, in 1489 at Moro, in the duchy of Milan; and in 1491 the congregation of Ravenna was compelled to demolish its beautiful synagogue.

At length in August, 1492, occurred the great expulsion of the children of Israel from Spain, Majorca, Sicily, and Sardinia. The decree removed "all those disgusting, pestiferous, rabid, justly outlawed Jewish hordes, whom it would have been wise to exterminate altogether; who polluted by their touch, corrupted by their looks, injured by their speech; who confused, infected, crushed all things divine and human; who plundered their unfortunate neighbors by means of lying and deceit, and extorted money by means of perjury and litigation! What man could be concerned by the fate of such a reprobate race?" Such was the language of a Spanish privy-councillor of that period, the language of "Esau, grown overbearing through the conquest of Granada, when he had determined to please his God by subjecting Judah to his church or to misery. And three hundred thousand of those pests—the aged, the sick, and the women—preferred misery to his church." Soon afterward came the expulsion from Provence. Here many were actually prevented from leaving the country, and were baptized by force. In October, 1492, the martyr Eleazar suffered in Sternberg (Mecklen-

burg). In 1494 the Jews were plundered in Naples; in Austria many innocent persons were imprisoned. Ullmann of Judenburg died in prison from the effects of torture. At the same time occurred a "blood-accusation" in Tyrnau, and (1495) an uprising against the Jewish inhabitants of Buda. In 1496 the Jews were expelled from Austrian territory, and their property sold for the benefit of the imperial exchequer. Portugal treated the Jewish refugees from Spain, whom the government wished to retain as Christians, with unexampled ferocity, because most of them were rich. Those who could not escape, were forced to change their faith. The Jews were forbidden to teach and to deliver sermons; they were deprived of their books and synagogues; and even babes were taken from their mothers. At that time many persons killed their children or themselves. The accounts given by Abraham Seba, Joseph Cohen, Yachya, and others are horrifying.

While the "Faithful were persecuting the Bohemian Brothers, the Jews were driven out of Salzburg, Nuremberg (1498), and Ulm (1499). Their houses, synagogues, and burial places became the property of the burghers, who surrendered a portion to the Emperor. In July, 1500, the same monarch, confirming the edicts of his predecessors, made the city of Worms a present of the Jews located there, with all their property. The town sages forbade the bakers to bake bread for the

Jews, and the Jews to purchase provisions in the market-places. A certain Johannes Baptista wrote at Strasburg against the Jews; and, instead of the Messiah announced in Istria, there appeared in Cologne a "hostis Judæorum."

Thus ended the fifteenth century, prolific in expulsions, as the one before had been in slaughters, and bequeathing such legacies of misery in written records and in the hearts of men, as could scarcely be removed by the labor of three hundred years. The very slow departure of the Middle Ages is proved by the regulations concerning the Jews, and by the persecutions during the next half century.

In 1501 sixty-seven secret Jewesses were burnt in Toledo. In 1530 there were expulsions, while Pfefferkorn thundered against the Talmud, and with the priests denounced Reuchlin as a traitor, for espousing the cause of the Talmud.[14] In 1504 the Jews had to evacuate Piacenza, and Orange in 1505. In 1506 they were ejected from Nördlingen, and their houses were seized. In the same year the populace of Lisbon, excited by two Dominican Friars, caused a frightful massacre of the New Christians, that is, of those who had been baptized by force. Four thousand persons were slain; women were ill-treated; a monk, offering violence to a woman, was slain by her. In 1508 a Jew at Cracow was tortured in a church until he made a confession, and then, as a matter of course, was burnt; by way of

comfort a "Jüdenspiegel" (Jews' mirror) * was then published. In 1509 the Spaniards took Bugia, and carried the Jews off as prisoners. In the same year Padua was pillaged, and Hebrew manuscripts disappeared. In 1510 the Jews of Tripoli suffered the same fate as their brethren in Bugia. They were brought to Naples, and many of them succumbed to misery. At Cologne, Victor, a convert, was at his nefarious work; in Colmar, the Jews were driven away; in Ratisbon the young citizens were allowed in Passion week "to catch a few Jews."

In the summer of the same year 1510, a trial in Brandenburg respecting a Holy wafer, at which the Bishop played a prominent part, led to the cruel torture of thirty-eight Jews, who were burnt on Friday the 19th of July; two others, who in their terror submitted to baptism, were beheaded on the following day. A wood-cut in folio commemorates this act of perverted justice of the infallible

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* From the 13th century "The Mirror" appears to have been a favorite name in various countries for legal, historical, religious, and other publications professing to give a true picture of existing conditions. In the early part of that century, Eyke von Repgow, to supplant the dominant Roman Law, issued his noted Collection of the Customary Laws of Germany, under the title of "*Sachsenspiegel*" (Saxon Mirror). Other instances of well-known Mirrors are the "*Speculum humanae Salvationis*," the "*Mirrour of Policie*," and the poetical "*Mirrour for Magistrates*."—Translator.

Church. In the same year an account adorned with three wood-cuts was printed on a quarto sheet, which sets forth: "Ayn wunderbarlich Geschichtt wie die Merkischen Juden das hochwirdig, etc., acht und dreissig Juden . . . mit lachendem Mund das Urteyl angehört mit ihrem Lobgesang ausgefürt, und uff dem Röst nit allein gesungen, gelacht . . . und mit grosser Bestendigkeit den Todt gelitten" (*i.e.*, A marvellous story how the Jews of Mark Brandenburg had the sacrament, etc. . . . how thirty-eight Jews with laughing mien, heard their sentence, and underwent the same with their song of praise, and at the stake they not only sang laughed . . . and suffered death with great constancy.[15] That the children were baptized, is a matter of course. Shortly after this "Veritable Event," appeared, at Basle, in rhyme, "Ein erschrockenliche History von fünf schnoden Juden" (A frightful history of five wretched Jews). An ancient "Commemoration of the Departed" cites twenty-nine names of burnt and sainted persons in Mark Brandenburg, most of whom probably were the heroes of this tragedy. They are: "Our teacher Rabbi Joseph b. Eliezer and his son Isaac, and his son our teacher Solomon; Menachem b. Isaac Halevi, David b. Mosheh Hacohen, David Meshullam b. Isaac, Salomon b. Joseph and his son Meir b. Solomon, Mordecai b. Akiba, Baruch b. Issachar Samuel b. Mordecai, Mosheh b. Joseph, Judah b. Meir, Eli b. Solomon, the two brothers Abraham

and Mosheh, sons of Solomon Halevi, Hizkiah b. Meir, David b. Meir Salomon, Mosheh b. Menachem Halevi, Joel b. Jehudah Halevi, and his brother Mosheh, Nathan, the son of our teacher Simeon Halevi, Samuel b. Jacob, Mosheh b. Israel, Hizkiah b. Israel, Joseph b. Obadiah, Naphtali b. Joseph, Mosheh b. Meir, Solomon b. Isaiah—who, like the Ten Martyrs, have glorified the Holy One."

In 1514 a neophyte, who had probably recanted, was roasted in Halle. In 1515 Hieronymus de Bononia wrote against the Jews. In the same year a lying accusation demanded its sacrifice at Budweis; and thirteen women threw themselves into the water. In 1516 the Jews were driven out of Genoa. In Ratisbon the priests preached against the Jews from all the pulpits as well as from placards at the church doors. In the summer of 1518 they had to depart from Wöhrd; in the winter of 1519 from Ratisbon. In 1520 the magistracy of Posen, professing to protect religion, prohibited retail trade to the Jews. In 1521 the Milanese Jews were compelled, by order of Lautrec, to wear tall yellow pointed hats. In 1552 the Christian church received a neophyte in the person of Margaritha of Ratisbon; but notwithstanding this, Luther declared, in the following year, "Sophists, monks, and arch-donkeys have hitherto treated the Jews in such a manner, that a good Christian might well have desired to turn Jew. If I had been a Jew, and had seen such clowns administering and

teaching Christianity, I would rather have been a sow than a Christian." In 1524 a Pasha persecuted the Jews. In 1525 the German Jews were imperilled in the Peasants' War, the peasants having designs against the nobles and the Jews.

In the year 1526 trade opposition caused the expulsion of the Jews from Pressburg; and in the next year they were driven out of Pavia and Florence, and plundered by the German soldiers in Rome; the last-named outrage took place on the first day of the Feast of Weeks.

In the spring of 1529 the Brandenburg tragedy was re-enacted in Hungary. In one place the Holy wafer was used as a weapon; in another the body of a murdered boy had been discovered by an old woman. Confession was elicited by the usual violent means, and thirty persons of both sexes and of various ages, were burnt at Bösing, near Pressburg, on Friday, the 21st of May (13th of Sivan). The children under ten years were baptized. In the printed narrative are especially named the brothers Jacob and Kalman, Jacob Schwertfeger, David Seilenmacher, Michael Schneider, Jacob Tschech, Samuel, surnamed Smolder, Salman, Liphardt, Wölfel, and the beadle Isaac. The other nineteen, who are not named, probably consisted of women and persons of tender years. On February 24, 1530, when Charles V. was crowned Emperor at Bologna, the Jews were on the point of being plundered.

At that time the Jews at Candia were compelled to do duty as executioners. On one such occasion all fled from Retimo; but they were ordered, under the penalty of being gibbeted, to return within twenty-four hours. In Turkey they were then expecting the Messiah; but instead, the Jewish inhabitants of Koron, Modon, and Patras were plundered and carried off, when Doria's troops captured those towns, in 1531 and 1532. Esther, the wife of Jacob Cohen, threw herself into the sea, to escape the importunities of the captain. In Zante and in Italy some Jews were ransomed, others were sold as slaves.

For the New Christians in Portugal the year 1531 was full of terrors. Imprisonment, torture, the stake, nothing was spared. Many were retaken from the vessels whither they had fled, and were burnt. The utmost misery befel the escaped fugitives; they died of cold and want. A Spanish commander in Milan seized those who came to Italy, had men and women whipped to cause them to give up their treasure, and to state the names of those following them. Many of the unfortunates returned to Judaism. Among these was Solomon Molcho, who, however, was burnt at Mantua, in 1533, for disputing with Charles V. about religion. When Tunis, on the 21st of July, 1535, was conquered by the Imperialists, many Jews lost their lives, and many were sold as slaves. In the following year they were twice plundered in Casale; the

first day by the French, the next day by the German soldiers. In 1536, Goa was blessed with an Inquisition. Father Staffel accused the rabbins of having tampered with the 22d Psalm. In 1537 Sigismund issued various decrees against the Jewish landholders in Posen; and in 1538 the inhabitants of Nuremberg were forbidden to buy meat from the Jews of Fürth. In the same year appeared "A Jew's Cudgel," containing 595 pages, in prose; in the next year a similar work was published in verse; both works, in quarto, were printed at Venice.

In 1539 a female proselyte was burnt in Cracow. Hessian theologians were apparently not so cruel; they merely demanded that the Jews should renounce the Talmud, build no new synagogues, and be compelled to come to the sermons. In 1540 the growl of the "blood-accusation" was heard again in Neuburg. Thanks to Guttenberg and Luther, these accusations do not seem to have been much thought of by some persons; for in 1541 a certain Dr. Eck, of Ingolstadt, hastened to write against the Jews. He said it was a disgrace for Christians to believe that the Jews were wronged, and so forth.[16] In that year they had to evacuate Naples and Meissen, and, at the capture of Bugia, they were carried off as prisoners. Many Hebrew books were consigned to the flames. The Jews were also ejected from Prague, and from all Bohemia, professedly on account of the many conflagrations

which happened in the rural districts, and on the 2d of June, in Prague. In the spring of 1542, they turned toward Poland. Many perished on the road, or were slain; in other places they were burnt. An Hungarian informer was concerned in the affair. It seems that the words of R. Abraham of Prague relate to these calamities:

"Our fathers' God, forsake us not!
We now are driven from our homes,
We are engulphed in deep distress;
O leave us not a prey to death!
From morn to even they conspire,
How they may rob and ruin us;
How they may burn or exile us;
Fain would they pierce us with a glance.
They charge us with fictitious crimes;
While all devices of their hearts
Are on our speedy downfall bent;
And our distress yields themes for mirth.
The Christians sated us with gall,
And would transfix us with their swords,
If ready pretexts were at hand.
O pity Thou the many poor!
If we must wander far away,
Wherewith shall we sustain our lives?
Who grants us now another home,
When strangers meet us everywhere?
Hast Thou Thy grace withdrawn from us,
Then may we fall into Thy hand,
But not into the hands of man!"

In 1543, the town of Leobschütz obtained the privilege of withholding shelter from the Jews. On the 19th of February a monastery was estab-

lished in Rome for baptized Jews—an informers' hospital. At the same time the Spaniards sold the Jews of Tlemzen into slavery.

Basle in the same year banished all its Jews. In 1544 severe regulations again were issued in Polish towns; and in 1545 "blood-accusation" again claimed many precious lives in Greece, notwithstanding Abraham de Modena's prayer against Edom. The victims of torture were hanged, and the physician Joseph Abiob was burnt.

The mournful recital which I have given my readers, from Constantine to Charles V., sustains the opinion that in the Middle Ages the history of the European Jews is replete with endeavors, on the part of their enemies, to exterminate them. It also justifies our estimate of the authors of such horrors. The Christians were held to be venal, perjured, covetous, cruel; their priests unchaste, rapacious, and heartless; their princes the scourge of God. It is, therefore stated in the ancient *rehitim*:*

> "Thy greatness shall be praised,
> With dances and with song;
> When Thou the tyrants' pride
> Wilt change into disgrace."

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* *Rehitim* consist of certain words, or phrases, in which, as in litanies, the burden continually recurs. They are to be recited without a melody. See on this term and its obscure origin, ZUNZ, *Synag. Poesie*, p. 79, and his *Literaturgeschichte d. Synag. Poesie*, p. 19, *et seq.*—TRANSLATOR.

The foregoing historical survey contributes to the comprehension of the synagogue liturgy. It explains the motives of wrath and exasperation, it lays open the source of tears, it reveals sorrows and wounds. We feel the sufferings, we hear the imprecations, we share the hopes. The stern words uttered in these Jewish Psalms, which have been considered words of life by many a Christian, rise as the dying cry of myriads of murdered human beings. Only love, not derision—justice, not oppression, can ever hope to bring atonement.

NOTES BY THE EDITOR.

(1) This opening sentence is quoted in the superscription to Book VI, ch. 42, of George Eliot's "Daniel Deronda," where a graphic and searching analysis of the martyrdom of Israel is given. In this connection, it is proper to refer to the sympathetic account of the same subject in M. J. Schleiden's "Die Romantik des Martyriums bei den Juden im Mittelalter," Leipzig, 1878.

(2) The poetical pieces quoted in this essay are reprinted, together with the original Hebrew, in Dr. A. Berliner's "Synagogal-Poesien" . . . Berlin, 1884. The sources are indicated in the notes, p. 76, *et seq.*

(3) Compare "Merchant of Venice," Act I. Scene 3, and the references in Shylock's famous rejoinder to Antonio.

(4) See Prof. D. Kaufmann's article on "Jewish Informers in the Middle Ages," in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* (London, 1896), Vol. VIII, pp. 217–238; I. Abrahams, "Jewish Life in the Middle Ages" (Philadelphia, 1896), pp. 49–50; "Jewish Encyclopedia," Vol. IX, pp. 42–44, article "Moser."

(5) On this subject, see A. Berliner, "Censur und Confiscation hebräischer Bücher im Kirchenstaate" (Frankfurt a. M., 1891); W. Popper, "The Censorship of Hebrew Books" (New York, 1899), which contains interesting facsimile reproductions of the censored pages of old Hebrew prints and the autographs of 29 censors. Cp. also the articles "Cen-

sorship of Hebrew Books" and "Confiscation of Hebrew Books," in the "Jewish Encyclopedia," Vol. III, pp. 642–652; Vol. IV, pp. 221–224.

(6) Similar atrocities were committed during the recent anti-Jewish excesses at Kishineff and Gomel, in 1903 and at Odessa, in 1905. For a graphic account of the massacres in 1905, see the *Jewish Chronicle* (London), Nov. 17, 1905, and the illustrations in the *New York Times*, December 3, 1905.

(7) The contemporary riots and massacres are described in Joseph Jacobs' "Jews of Angevin England" (New York and London, 1893), pp. 112–134, 385–392. Yomtob of York's Penitential Hymn, translated by I. Zangwill, is given *ibid.*, pp. 109–111. The Jews were mobbed and slaughtered at Lincoln, Lynn, Norwich, Stamford, St. Edmunds and York in February and March, 1190. Subjoined herewith may be found a reference to all the chapters in Jacobs' book dealing with the sufferings and persecutions of the Jews in England:

Before 1141: "A Jew burnt at Oxford" (p. 256).

1144: "The Martyrdom of William of Norwich" (pp. 19–21, 256–258; facing page 19 is an illustration of the "gruesome event").

1168: "Harold, the Boy-Martyr of Gloucester" (pp. 45–47).

1171: "English Jews mourn the Martyrs of Blois" (p. 265).

1181: "St. Robert, Boy and Martyr" (p. 75).

1182: "One of the causes of the York Massacre" (p. 77).

1182 (Sept. 3 and 4): "The Massacre at Richard I's Coronation" (pp. 99–108).

1190: "Abbot Samson gets the Jews expelled from Edmondsbury" (pp. 141–142).

1192: "Alleged Martyrdom of a Boy at Winchester" (pp. 146–152; with one illustration).

1204: "A general release except for Jews" (pp. 223–224).

(8) On this subject, see "Jewish Encyclopedia," Vol. II, pp. 425–427, where a colored plate, showing the forms of badge worn by medieval Jews, is given.

(9) The martyrdom of Hugh of Lincoln is described at length by Joseph Jacobs in "Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England," Vol. I, pp. 89–135 (with an extensive bibliography on pp. 133–135). See also his "Jewish Ideals" (New York, 1896), pp. 192–224 and the "Jewish Encyclopedia," Vol. VI, pp. 487–488. Jacobs furnishes some illustrations and reprints, contemporaneous records and ballads.

(10) See on this subject the article "Disputations" in "Jewish Encyclopedia," Vol. IV, pp. 614–618, and the sources there cited.

(11) Strangely enough, no record of this man's martyrdom is to be found in Berliner's or in Vogelstein and Rieger's "History of the Jews in Rome."

(12) See Joseph Jacobs, article "Black Death" in "Jewish Encyclopedia," Vol. III, pp. 233–236. He furnishes a useful map of Central Europe, showing chief towns where outbreaks against the Jews occurred, 1348–1349, and a list of all towns in Germany where Jews were attacked on account of Black Death.

(13) An account of this outrage, with others of a similar character is given in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, July 19, 1898. See also the article "Brussels," in "Jewish Encyclopedia," Vol. III, pp. 406–409, where interesting illustrations of this memorable Host-Tragedy are to be found.

(14) An interesting account of the controversies of these two antagonists is given by S. A. Hirsch, in his "Book of

Essays" (London, 1905), pp. 73–115: "Johan Pfefferkorn and the Battle of the Books."

(15) The literature of this tragic event in 1510 is too extensive to be mentioned. References should, however, be made to Friedrich Holtze's "Das Strafverfahren gegen die märkischen Juden im Jahre 1510" (Berlin, 1884), containing reprints of contemporaneous chronicles and a few illustrations, and to David Kaufmann's article: "Die Märtyrer der Berliner Auto da fe's von 1510" in Berliner's *Magazin f. d. Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, XVIII (1891), pp. 48–53, which gives a list of 36 martyrs.

(16) It is interesting to note in this connection the discovery in 1893, by Dr. Moritz Stern, of Andreas Osiander's long-lost apology for the Jews, which called forth Dr. Eck's tirade. It was reprinted in Berlin, 1903, just 350 years after its first appearance, under the title: "Andreas Osiander's Schrift ueber die Blutbeschuldigung wiederaufgefunden und im Neudruck herausgegeben von Moritz Stern." (The original wrappers of this little book bear the date *Berlin*, 1903; the inside title page has, however, *Kiel*, 1893.)